

HEKE TE TOA! HOW HAS HONE HEKE POKAI,
PICTORIALLY REPRESENTED,
CONTRIBUTED TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF
NEW ZEALAND'S NATIONAL IDENTITY 1840-2005?

A THESIS
SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN ART HISTORY
BY
NATHAN THOMPSON

UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

2006

**E whakamaharatanga mō taku matua, John ‘Puku’ Thompson, mō taku whaia
Noreen Thompson**

Tena koe mō tō awhina ite ako ia hau me nga tohutohu tanga.

**Dedicated to the memory of my late father, John ‘Puku’ Thompson, and for my
mother Noreen Thompson.**

Thank you for teaching me and inspiring me.

Contents

Abstract.....	v
Acknowledgements.....	vi
List of illustrations.....	vii

Introduction:

<i>Heke and 'New Zealand'</i>	1
National identity and New Zealand.....	3
Theoretical perspectives/literary sources.....	4
Heke, 'visual representation' and 'nation'.....	8
A brief biography of Hone Heke Pokai.....	10
The artists.....	13
Outline of chapters.....	15

Chapter One:

<i>Heke portrayed by colonial artists of the Pioneering Period</i>	17
A brief introduction to the artists.....	20
R. A. Oliver.....	22
Oliver's <i>Honi, Bay of Islands</i>	23
Joseph Jenner Merrett.....	26
Merrett's portraits of Heke.....	27
Copies of Heke after Merrett.....	33
J. A. Gilfillan.....	37
Gilfillan's drawings of Heke.....	38
William Duke.....	40

Dukes' <i>The Celebrated Chief Hone or John Heke</i>	40
George French Angas.....	42
Angas' <i>Hone Heki and Patuone</i>	42
Chapter summary.....	44

Chapter Two:

<i>Heke's revival in pictorial representations from 1886 to 1962</i>	47
A brief introduction to the artists.....	50
Julian Ashton.....	52
Ashton's <i>Hone Heke</i>	53
Elizabeth Mary Hocken.....	56
Hocken's <i>Hone Heke Pokai</i>	57
Arthur David McCormick.....	59
McCormick's <i>Heke fells the flagstaff at Kororareka</i>	60
Leonard Cornwall Mitchell.....	64
Mitchell's <i>A reconstruction of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi</i>	65
Dennis Knight Turner.....	69
Knight Turner's 'Heke' paintings.....	70
Chapter summary.....	74

Chapter Three:

<i>Pictorial representations of Heke in post-1975 New Zealand art</i>	77
Post-colonialism in post-1975 New Zealand.....	78
A brief introduction to the artists.....	81
Christine Drummond.....	82

Drummond's <i>Hone Heke Waitangi Day</i> protest poster.....	84
Philip Kelly.....	86
Kelly's <i>Treaty Timeline</i>	87
Clive Arlidge.....	89
Arlidge's <i>Heke Te Toa</i> series and <i>Heke Meets Black Jack</i>	90
Lester Hall.....	92
Hall's 'Heke' paintings.....	93
Chapter summary.....	98

Chapter Four:

<i>Heke outlawed! Pictorial representations of Heke in the Australian exhibition 'Outlawed! Rebels, Revolutionaries and Bushrangers'</i>	100
Exhibited pictorial representations of Heke: a brief history.....	103
Trans-Tasman and international perspectives of Heke.....	105
Relating Heke to the heroes of <i>Outlawed!</i>	108
Institutional roles.....	113
Heke's continuing legacy in <i>Outlawed!</i>	119
Chapter summary.....	122

Conclusion:

<i>Heke, his pictorial representations and New Zealand's national identity</i>	124
Pictorial representations of Heke and early New Zealand society.....	127
Pictorial representations of Heke and modern New Zealand society.....	128
Representations of Heke and New Zealand's national identity.....	129
Illustrations.....	131-175

References.....	176
-----------------	-----

ABSTRACT

By developing a body of information about Hone Heke Pokai, the renowned Ngapuhi chief famed for ‘chopping down the flagstaff at Kororareka’, the objective of this dissertation is to examine his pictorial representations, thus identifying how they have contributed to New Zealand’s national identity from 1840 to 2005.

By creating an archive of images of Heke, it is my intention to examine the Ngapuhi leader in a new context. While paying homage to Heke, this dissertation also reinforces his significance, as conveyed by these images, to New Zealand national identity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to acknowledge Hone Heke Pokai. His political genius, determination and foresight have contributed to defining New Zealand's identity. I further acknowledge Heke as a member of his extensive whanau. For this reason, the lengthy journey in writing this dissertation was both professional and personal.

For their time, invaluable information and contribution to my thesis, I would like to acknowledge and thank the artists Christine Drummond, Clive Arlidge and Lester Hall. By addressing Hone Heke Pokai and New Zealand's bicultural history, their art has, and continues to, challenge the way in which New Zealanders identify themselves.

I would like to thank my fellow M.A. students for their support and companionship. I would especially like to thank Lynn Bendall and Barbara Garrie for their invaluable 'last-minute' proof reading assistance.

Special thanks are due to my supervisor, Jo Diamond. This thesis could not have been written without her assistance, guidance, personal insight, and moral support. Thank you for reintroducing me to Heke. Kia ora Jo!

Finally, I would like to thank my Mother, Noreen, my Father, John, my uncle Bill Peoples, and all family and whanau who have supported me in my 'earnest' attempt in writing this dissertation. I thank you all.

List of Illustrations

Figure 1. Joseph Jenner Merrett, <i>Hone Heke Pokai</i> , 1846.....	131
Figure 2. W. A. Thomas, lithograph after George Thomas Clayton, <i>Kororareka in the Bay of Islands, New Zealand.</i> <i>Sketched Mar. 10th 1845 on the morning before the</i> <i>assault and destruction by Honi Heke, c.1845</i>	132
Figure 3. ‘Operations around the Bay of Islands’. Reproduced from Michael Barthorp’s <i>To Face the Daring Maoris:</i> <i>Soldiers impressions of the First Maori War 1845-47</i> , London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1979, unpaginated.....	133
Figure 4. J. A. Gilfillan, <i>Hone Heke</i> , c.1846.....	134
Figure 5. R. A. (Richard Aldworth) Oliver, <i>Honi, Bay of Islands, 1840</i> , 1840.....	135
Figure 6. Sir Joshua Reynolds, <i>Portrait of Omai</i> , 1775-1776.....	136
Figure 7. James Barry, <i>The Rev. Thomas Kendall and the</i> <i>Maori Chiefs Hongi Hika and Waikato</i> , 1820.....	137
Figure 8. Joseph Jenner Merrett, <i>Johnny Heke & wife</i> , 1845.....	138
Figure 9. Joseph Jenner Merrett, <i>The Warrior chieftains of New Zealand</i> , 1846.....	139
Figure 10. William Nicholas, lithograph after Merrett, <i>The Warrior chieftains of New Zealand</i> , 1846.....	140
Figure 11. William Nicholas, lithograph after Merrett, <i>The Warrior chieftains of New Zealand</i> , 1846 (published version).....	141
Figure 12. Joseph Jenner Merrett, <i>Hone Heke and His Wife Hariata, with Four Attendants</i> , 1846.....	142
Figure 13. Joseph Jenner Merrett, <i>Group of Natives including Honi Heke, Hariata, and Kawiti</i> , c.1846.....	143

Figure 14. Joseph Jenner Merrett, <i>Heki, The Commander in chief during the late war, he died of consumption in 1849, caused by a blow he received from his wife in a fit of jealousy, 1850</i>	144
Figure 15. Unknown artist, <i>Johnny Heki, 1856</i>	145
Figure 16. Unknown artist, <i>Johny Heke & wife, 1859</i>	146
Figure 17. J. A. Gilfillan, <i>Honi Heke, about 1846</i>	147
Figure 18. J. A. Gilfillan, <i>Hone Heke, about 1846</i>	148
Figure 19. J. A. Gilfillan, images from his sketchbooks, about 1846.....	149
Figure 20. William Duke, <i>The Celebrated New Zealand Chief Hone or John Heke, 1846</i>	150
Figure 21. William Duke, <i>Portrait of Maketu, 1846</i>	151
Figure 22. George French Angas, <i>Honi Heki and Patuone, 1847</i>	152
Figure 23. George French Angas, <i>Honi Heke, c.1847</i>	153
Figure 24. Julian Ashton, <i>Hone Heke, c.1886</i>	154
Figure 25. Julian Ashton, <i>Tamate Waka Nene, c.1886</i>	155
Figure 26. Elizabeth Mary Hocken, <i>Hone Heke Pokai, c.1905</i>	156
Figure 27. Arthur David McCormick, <i>Heke fells the flagstaff at Kororareka, c.1908</i>	157
Figure 28. Arthur David McCormick, <i>A boy's heroism "Awake! Awake!", c.1908</i>	158
Figure 29. Charles Frederick Goldie and Louis John Steele, <i>The Arrival of the Maori in New Zealand, 1898,</i>	159
Figure 30. Leonard Cornwall Mitchell, <i>A Reconstruction of the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840, 1949</i>	160

Figure 31. Marcus King, <i>The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi,</i> <i>Feb 6th, 1840, 1939</i>	161
Figure 32. Unknown artist, <i>The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1940</i>	162
Figure 33. Dennis Knight Turner, <i>Hone Heke, 1962</i>	163
Figure 34. Dennis Knight Turner, <i>Hone Heke 6, 1962</i>	164
Figure 35. Christine Drummond, <i>Waitangi Day Protest Poster, 1981</i>	165
Figure 36. Philip Kelly, <i>Treaty Timeline, 1990</i>	166
Figure 37. Philip Kelly, <i>Treaty Timeline (detail), 1990</i>	167
Figure 38. Philip Kelly, <i>Treaty Timeline (detail), 1990</i>	168
Figure 39. Clive Arlidge, <i>Heke Te Toa, Heke Te Toa 2, and Heke Te Toa 3, 1990</i>	169
Figure 40. Clive Arlidge, <i>Heke Meets Black Jack, 1993</i>	170
Figure 41. Lester Hall, <i>Psst... Hone Heke was a tattooed savage!, c.1998</i>	171
Figure 42. Lester Hall, <i>Cockpit, c.1998</i>	172
Figure 43. Lester Hall, <i>Dame Whine Cooper, c.1998</i>	173
Figure 44. <i>Outlawed!</i> exhibition catalogue cover, 2003.....	174
Figure 45. Alfred Sharpe, <i>Burial Place of Hone Heke, Bay of Islands, 1885</i>	175

Introduction

Heke and 'New Zealand'.

[The 'intrinsic meaning' or 'content' of art] ...is apprehended by ascertaining those underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion – unconsciously qualified by one personality and condensed into one work.¹

Erwin Panofsky

The Ngapuhi² chief Hone Heke Pokai (henceforth referred to as Heke) is arguably one of the most important figures in New Zealand history. Images of the Maori leader have a notable, if hitherto unexamined, presence within the historical visual archive. It is therefore valid for the 'intrinsic meaning'³ of his pictorial representations, such as the colonial artist Joseph Jenner Merrett's 1846 portrait *Hone Heke Pokai* (fig. 1),⁴ to be re-examined and interpreted in an art-historical context. Entitled *Heke Te Toa!* (Heke The Strong!) after the accomplished Maori artist Clive Arlidge's 1990 series of art-works dedicated to Heke,⁵ this dissertation emphasises the strength and mana (status) of Heke as it has been conveyed throughout New Zealand history by means of pictorial representation.

Although Heke was one of many Maori who reacted to the presence of the British Crown in the mid nineteenth century, his famous or infamous actions (depending on one's opinion) have made him an important figure in the shaping of New Zealand's history, an imperative component of New Zealand's national

¹ Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the visual arts*, Middlesex, England, Penguin books, 1970, p.55.

² Ngapuhi (alternately spelled Nga Puhi) is the largest iwi (tribe) located in Northland, New Zealand.

³ Panofsky, *Meaning in the visual arts*, 1970, p.55.

⁴ Joseph Jenner Merrett and his Heke illustrations are studied in the next chapter.

⁵ Clive Arlidge and his *Heke* paintings are the subject of the third chapter.

identity. This dissertation argues that Heke, pictorially represented, has contributed to the construction of New Zealand's national identity from 1840 to 2005. The timeframe of the illustrations set by this dissertation, begins with his first known picture⁶ in 1840 and extends to 2005, when the Australian exhibition *Outlawed! Rebels, Revolutionaries and Bushrangers*⁷ was originally scheduled to close at the Queensland Museum, and when I had compiled a canon of Heke images to be included in this dissertation.

The boundaries for this paper are restricted to images of Heke in painting, print and drawing.⁸ It focuses entirely upon images that have reached the public arena in the form of exhibition or early publications of New Zealand history, thereby contributing to the promotion of a public awareness of Heke and his contribution to New Zealand's national identity. The art-works come from New Zealand and Canberra collections, and, unless stated, predominantly come from the collections of the University of Otago's Hocken Library (Dunedin), the National Library of New Zealand's Alexander Turnbull Collection (Wellington) and the National Library of Australia's Rex Nan Kivell Collection (Canberra). This dissertation will examine pictorial representations of Heke (featuring his physical likeness or figurative depiction), except where noted for the purpose of illustrating Heke's story and trends

⁶ I have located no evidence of existing pictorial representations of Heke prior to 1840, therefore R. A. Oliver's painting of Heke is identified as the first European portrait of Heke. This is explained in the R. A. Oliver subsection of Chapter One.

⁷ The *Outlawed!* exhibition, the subject of Chapter Four, displayed many such representations of Heke dating from 1846 to 1998.

⁸ This dissertation will examine pictorial representations of Heke (featuring his physical likeness or figurative depiction), except where noted for the purpose of illustrating Heke's story and trends in his appearance. It is noted that Heke is visually represented in other mediums, including sculpture, mixed media, textual art-works, carvings, film and literature.

in his appearance. It is noted that he is visually represented in other mediums, including sculpture, mixed media, textual art-works, carvings, film and literature.

National identity and New Zealand

Because Heke's prevailing legacy is a fundamental theme in New Zealand's history, it is essential that Heke's contribution to New Zealand's national identity is acknowledged. To understand the concept of 'national identity', one must come to terms with the concept of the 'nation'. In the introduction to the *Nationalism* reader John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith write that:

The concept of the 'nation' has, in fact, been contested on two fronts: in terms of rival scholarly definitions and as a form of identity that competes with other kinds of collective identity. While it is recognised that the concept of the nation must be differentiated from other concepts of collective identity like class, gender, race, and religious community, there is little agreement about the role of ethnic, as opposed to political, components of nation.⁹

Several themes are emphasised in this dissertation when defining New Zealand's national identity.

Themes such as geographical location, historical incidents, cultural developments, international comparisons, and political ideologies, define New Zealand's national identity. In this dissertation, it is the artists' personal interpretation of Heke that is here applied to the historic, social and political aspects of New Zealand culture, thereby applying him, by means of pictorial representation, to the development of New Zealand's national identity from 1840 until 2005.

⁹ John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (Eds.), *Nationalism*, Oxford/New York, Oxford University Press, 1994, p.4.

In the spirit of promoting New Zealand's often neglected bicultural status, this dissertation will apply te reo Maori (the Maori language) where appropriate. It is acknowledged that alternatives for 'New Zealand' are Aotearoa (Land of the long white cloud), Aotearoa/New Zealand, or New Zealand/Aotearoa (emphasising New Zealand's bicultural foundations and honouring Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi). This thesis will apply the title 'New Zealand' by reason that it conveys the national identity recognised by most people who dwell or originate from New Zealand and identify themselves as 'New Zealanders', Maori, Pakeha and ethnic communities alike.¹⁰

While emphasising New Zealand's bicultural status, I note that to date there are no recognised pictorial representations of Heke by artists of Maori heritage (Arlidge being the notable exception) that have been successfully exhibited in the public arena. Although I primarily address European representations of Heke in this dissertation, a more extensive examination of Maori artists' representations (pictorial or other) of him are a valid basis for future research, currently beyond spatial limits of this thesis.

Theoretical perspectives/literary sources

The following publications are fundamental to the construction of this thesis providing a basis for its historical and theoretical investigation of Heke, his pictorial

¹⁰ Terms 'indigenous to New Zealand', according to Michael King, '...the words Maori and Pakeha have meaning, relevance and appropriateness in the context of New Zealand life and history. Maori (from the 'tangata maori' – ordinary people) denotes the descendants of the country's first Polynesian immigrants. Pakeha denotes non-Maori New Zealanders. Cited in Michael King, *Being Pakeha: An encounter with New Zealand and the Maori Renaissance*, Auckland, London, Sydney, Toronto, Hodder and Stoughton, 1988, p.16.

representations and New Zealand's national identity. T. Lindsay Buick's in *New Zealand's First War or The Rebellion of Hone Heke*¹¹ and *The Treaty of Waitangi*,¹² and James Cowan's *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period*¹³ provide accounts of Heke's life and its relevance to New Zealand's national identity.

Historian Paul Moon's *Hone Heke: Nga Puhi Warrior* is the only book devoted entirely to Heke's biography and provides a contemporary analytical perspective of his life.¹⁴ Art historian Leonard Bell's *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori 1840 – 1914*¹⁵ examines Maori represented in European art, and an intrinsic aspect to this dissertation given that all of the studied artists, except Arlidge, are of European descent. My critical interpretation of Bell's work, particularly but not only, in relation to Eurocentrism in art analysis has proved most valuable to this dissertation.

Contributing to the *Outlawed!* exhibition, art historian Dr Jo Diamond has subsequently included her experiences of the exhibition in her 2003 PhD thesis *Revaluing Raranga: weaving and women in Trans-Tasman Maori cultural discourses*,¹⁶ and has consequently applied Heke to popular culture (in an international context) and gender politics, thus reviving an interest in the Ngapuhi

¹¹ T. Lindsay Buick, *New Zealand's First War or The Rebellion of Hone Heke*, Wellington, W. A. G. Skinner, Government Printer, 1926.

¹² T. Lindsay Buick, *The Treaty of Waitangi: how New Zealand became a British colony*, Christchurch, Capper Press, 1976.

¹³ James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period*, v. 1: 1845 – 64, Wellington, R. E. Owen, Government Printer, 1955.

¹⁴ Paul Moon, *Hone Heke: Nga Puhi Warrior*, Auckland, David Ling Publishers, 2001, unpaginated.

¹⁵ Leonard Bell, *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori 1840 – 1914*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1992.

¹⁶ Jo Diamond, *Revaluing raranga: weaving and women in Trans-Tasman Maori cultural discourses*, a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Australian National University in November, 2003, pp.248-268.

leader. With knowledge of Heke and the significance of pictorial representations, belonging to Ngapuhi and affiliated with Heke's direct whanau (family), she is referred to throughout this dissertation and especially in the fourth chapter.

In *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*,¹⁷ America's leading theorist of visual representation W. T. J. Mitchell offers an immensely rich and suggestive account of interplay between the visible and the readable across culture. Art historian Marx W. Wartofsky's essay 'Picturing and Representing'¹⁸ argues that human vision is a cultural and historical product of the creative activity of making pictures.¹⁹ Because both Mitchell and Wartofsky assist in the interpretation of Heke's pictorial representations, their theories are readily applicable to my thesis.

Internationally acclaimed philosopher and author of *Orientalism*, a groundbreaking critique of the West's historical, cultural, and political perceptions of the East, Edward Said defines 'the orient' simply as 'other than' the occident.²⁰ Introduced in the first chapter, and thematic throughout this dissertation, by referring to unfamiliar peoples as the 'Other',²¹ Said's discourse in *Orientalism* provides fundamental comprehension for this examination of the relationship between Heke and non-Maori artists.

Regarding 'national identity', it was necessary to consult several fundamental literary sources in order to relate Heke's pictorial representations to New Zealand's

¹⁷ W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1994.

¹⁸ Marx W. Wartofsky, 'Picturing and Representing' in Calvin F. Nodine and Dennis F. Fisher (Eds.), *Perception and Pictorial Representation*, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1979.

¹⁹ Ibid, p.272.

²⁰ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, first published 1978, republished 1994.

²¹ Ibid, p.325.

national identity in a theoretical context. Culture and national identity have changed dramatically in New Zealand during the latter part of the twentieth century, with the emergences of policies on biculturalism and the increased focus of the Treaty of Waitangi and the settlement of Treaty claims. Augie Fleras' and Paul Spoonley's *Recalling Aotearoa: Indigenous Politics and Ethnic Relations in New Zealand*²² examines why these changes have occurred and the nature of the politics involved, and considers new directions for New Zealand as a nation.

In *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, the prominent theorist on 'nation' Benedict Anderson presents an analysis of nations as 'imagined communities',²³ a concept explained later in this dissertation. Additionally, art historian Albert Boime's *The Unveiling of the National Icons: A Plea for Patriotic Iconoclasm in a Nationalist*²⁴ Era examines 'nation' and 'patriotism' by analysing the creation and reception of several American national monuments as a means of understanding the politics of memory and national icons. The eminent art historian Erwin Panofsky's collection of essays published as *Meaning in the visual arts*²⁵ deals with general problems as well as special topics involving archaeological facts, aesthetic attitudes, iconography, and style. Theoretical information provided by Anderson, Boime and Panofsky provides a fundamental premise for combining 'national identity' with images of Heke in this thesis. As this thesis demonstrates, these literary sources all support my argument

²² Augie Fleras and Paul Spoonley, *Recalling Aotearoa: Indigenous Politics and Ethnic Relations in New Zealand*, Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1999, pp.x-xi.

²³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, London/New York, Verso, 1991, p.15.

²⁴ Albert Boime, *The Unveiling of National Icons: A Plea for Patriotic Iconoclasm in a National Era*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998, unpaginated.

²⁵ Panofsky, p.7.

that Heke, pictorially represented, has contributed to the construction of New Zealand's national identity from 1840 to 2005.

Heke, 'visual representation' and 'nation'

Wartofsky's concept of visual representation and symbolism are relevant when addressing Heke's importance in New Zealand's art history. He explains the concept of visual representation as being:

...visual artefacts expressly made or understood as referring to something beyond themselves. Thus, there are nonvisual representations that are not pictures, for example vocal reference in speech or gestural ostension; so, too, there are visual modes of reference that are not pictorial. Representation is symbolic. That is, one thing stands for another, under an interpretation given in a symbol system of which the representation is a part.²⁶

Because 'Representation is symbolic', Heke's pictorial representations will be examined historically, socially and theoretically in order to discover the definition of the symbolic properties conveyed in the images and how they relate to New Zealand's identity. Furthermore, Heke's images are a social commentary by reason that Heke's changing image reflects change in New Zealand's social history and the artists' contribution to New Zealand's national identity.

Mitchell identifies 'three basic questions about representations: (1) what lies outside representation? (2) why are we so anxious about it? (3) what is our responsibility toward it?'²⁷ This paper will apply Mitchell's 'three basic questions' to Heke's pictorial representations in order to understand them, thereby identifying how

²⁶ Wartofsky, p.281.

²⁷ Mitchell, p.418.

these images have contributed to the formation of New Zealand's national identity.

Furthermore, he describes 'representation' as being:

...something roughly commensurate with the totality of cultural activity, including ... that aspect of political culture which is structured around the transfer, displacement, or alienation of power – from “the people” to “the sovereign”.... Representation understood, then, as relationship, as process, as the relay mechanism in exchanges of and publicity: nothing in this model guarantees the directionality of the structure.²⁸

By examining pictorial representations of Heke thematic to each chapter, Heke's pictorial representations are re-examined and defined in colonial, iconographic, post-colonial, and exhibition contexts in art history.

I build upon Benedict Anderson's theory of the 'imagined nation' in addressing the examined artists and their representations of Heke that have contributed fundamentally over time, to the development of New Zealand's national identity. From the earliest pictorial representation of Heke, artists have consciously or subconsciously responded to concepts of national history, power and identity by depicting the Ngapuhi chief in their pictorial representations that coincide with New Zealand's developing national identity.

Although this dissertation will acknowledge the actions that have made Heke famous amongst his Maori and non-Maori supporters and infamous with the British Crown, colonial settlers and opposing Maori, it is not an attempt to exclusively retell his story. The emphasis on historical incidents such as the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and the subsequent felling of the flagpole at Kororareka will encapsulate the character and personality of the chief, thus further reinforcing Heke's historical status to New Zealand's national identity as conveyed by his pictorial

²⁸ Ibid, p.420.

representations. Furthermore, the union of Heke's historical status and New Zealand's national identity will dismiss any narrative that would impose a mythological persona on Heke, a concept further discussed in Chapter Two in connection to Anderson's theory of the 'imagined nation.'²⁹

A brief biography of Hone Heke Pokai

To clarify Heke's historical status further, I now briefly summarise the main biographical details of his life. Hone Wiremu Heke Pokai was born at Pakaraka, near the Bay of Islands, probably after the death of his mother's brother Pokaia, at Maunganui Bluff, between 1807 and 1810. His major tribal affiliation was with Ngapuhi-nui-tonu and Ngapuhi-tuturu.³⁰ He attended Kerikeri Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) mission school in 1824 and 1825. At that time the C.M.S. was the dominant source of Western Education in the Bay of Islands and New Zealand. It is said that 'the missionaries found him mischievous, and even troublesome and surly.'³¹ Scholar and descendant of Heke, Freda Rankin Kawharu describes his close relationship with the C.M.S. missionary Henry Williams: 'Of the missionaries, Henry Williams had the greatest influence on him and was something of a father figure while Heke lived at Paihia. After Heke returned to Kaikohe in 1837, Williams continued to advise and counsel him.'³² Although a 'father-figure' to Heke, Williams realised Heke's power. By advising and counselling the Ngapuhi leader, Williams, a

²⁹ The concept of 'imagined persona' is related to Benedict Anderson's theory of 'imagined nations', a concept discussed in Chapter Two.

³⁰ He was also with the hapu Ngati Rahiri, Ngai Tawake, Ngati Tautahi, Te Matarahurahu and Te Uri-o-Hua.

³¹ Freda Rankin Kawharu, 'Heke Pokai, Hone Wiremu', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Internet source, unpaginated. See www.dnzb.govt.nz Date accessed: 31/3/04.

³² Ibid.

dedicated missionary committed to ‘civilising’ New Zealand was attempting to build a bridge between Maori and the British Crown.

Heke was among the first Maori to sign the Treaty of Waitangi on the sixth of February, 1840. Despite the assurances of the Treaty,³³ the relationship between chiefly power and that of the fledgling colonial administration in New Zealand was left in a haze of promises and presumptions which completely failed to define the standing of either party. The promises of protection, peace and goodwill which were prominent at the time the Treaty was signed had almost vanished by 1844.³⁴

When the Union Jack was hoisted up the flagstaff given by Heke to fly a Maori flag on Maiki Hill at Kororareka (fig. 2), now known as Russell, the ensign became a symbol of British power and assertion over Maori sovereignty, colonial domination and Maori despair. Accordingly, at daybreak on the eighth of July, 1844, Te Haratua, Heke’s second-in-command, led his men to cut down the flagstaff.³⁵ Because of his actions Heke became a hero for many Maori, an enemy of the British Crown and a potential ally for the French and Americans, in the race to obtain New Zealand as a colony.³⁶ According to Paul Moon,

A handful of embittered Americans in the Bay of Islands, angry over the decline of trade in the region, told Heke that the British flag on Maiki Hill was a symbol that the Maori were now slaves, and that Maori freedom had been forfeited by allowing the British to establish their rule in the colony.³⁷

³³ Moon, pp.18-19.

³⁴ Ibid., p.19.

³⁵ Ibid., p.46.

³⁶ Ibid., pp.25-26, 42-43.

³⁷ J. Rutherford, *Hone Heke's Rebellion, 1844-46*, Auckland, Auckland University College, 1947, pp.26-27.

Although there was a common cause for concern among Ngapuhi, some chiefs were opposed to his actions. Foremost among them was Heke's cousin, chief of the Hokianga, Tamati Waka Nene.

In Auckland Governor Robert FitzRoy asked for military aid from New South Wales for the war against Heke. In September, 1844 Heke wrote to FitzRoy. In the diplomatic letter, Heke commented on his 'rude' character, and reinforced his political stance against the British:

Friend Governor, - This is my speech to you. My disobedience and rudeness is no new thing. I inherit it from my parents – from my ancestors. Do not imagine it is a new feature of my character; but I am thinking of leaving off my rude conduct to Europeans. Now I say I will prepare another pole inland at Waimate, and I will it at its proper place at Kororareka in order to put a stop to our present quarrel. Let your soldiers remain beyond the sea and at Auckland. Do not send them here. The pole that was cut down belonged to me. I made it for the native flag, and it was never paid for by the Europeans.

From your friend,

Hone Heke Pokai³⁸

By referring to himself as 'friend', Heke's letter was an effort to unite British officials and Maori. However, when the flagstaff was replaced, it was cut down by Heke for the second time on the tenth of January 1845.³⁹ A rumoured third attack on the flagstaff on the thirteenth of January did not eventuate.⁴⁰

³⁸ Buick, p.42.

³⁹ Moon, p.58.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p.61. Conflicting with Moon's statement that although Heke's troop movement around Kororareka on the thirteenth of January, 1845, 'suggested to the nervous inhabitants that an attack was imminent,...the rumoured attack did not eventuate'. In contrast, Freda Rankin Kawharu states that Heke and his men cut down the flagpole for the third time on the nineteenth of January, 1845. See Rankin Kawharu, 'Hone Wiremu Heke Pokai'. Internet source, unpaginated. See www.dnzb.govt.nz Date accessed: 31/3/04.

Unified with his ‘distant relative’⁴¹ and Ngapuhi chief Te Ruki Kawiti (henceforth referred to as Kawiti),⁴² fighting commenced between the British and Heke’s supporters at Kororareka on the eleventh of March, 1845. Heke had Kawiti create a diversion, as did the accompanying Te Kapotai hapu, and Heke cut down the pole for the third and final time, on the morning of the twelfth of March, 1845.⁴³ Heke continued to fight against the British until 1846. However towards the end of his life, he continued to protest by writing letters to British officials including Grey until his death from tuberculosis on the seventh of August, 1850.⁴⁴ In his publication *To Face the Daring Maoris: Soldiers’ impressions of the First Maori War 1845-47*,⁴⁵ military historian Michael Barthorp indicates the various sites and routes of Heke’s campaigns represented in map form (fig. 3).

The artists

‘To represent someone or even something’, according to the philosopher Edward Said, ‘has now become an endeavour as complex and as problematic as an asymptote, with consequences for certainty and decidability as fraught with difficulties as can be imagined.’⁴⁶ By acknowledging the difficulties and consequences of the art-works, and responsibilities of the artists, this dissertation will engage in the issues and consequences generated by the premise that Heke,

⁴¹ Tawai Kawiti, ‘Heke’s War in the Northland’, *Te Ao Hou*, October 1956, vol.4, no.16, p.38.

⁴² Moon, p.72.

⁴³ Ibid, pp.74, 77.

⁴⁴ Freda Rankin Kawharu, ‘Heke Pokai, Hone Wiremu’. Internet source, unpaginated. See www.dnzb.govt.nz Date accessed: 31/3/04

⁴⁵ Michael Barthorp, *To Face the Daring Maoris: Soldiers’ Impressions of the First Maori War 1845-47*. London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1979, unpaginated.

⁴⁶ Edward Said, ‘Representing the Colonized: Anthropology’s Interlocutors’ in *Critical Inquiry*, Winter 1989, vol.15, no.2, p.206, cited in Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 1992, p.1.

pictorially represented, has contributed to the construction of New Zealand's national identity.

During his lifetime, Heke was depicted by colonial artists R. A. Oliver, Joseph Jenner Merrett, John Alexander Gilfillan, William Duke, and George French Angas. Heke's image as subject-matter for artists was revived in intervals from 1886 onwards until 1962. Commencing with Julian Ashton's illustration of Heke in 1886, Elizabeth Mary Hocken c.1905, Arthur David McCormick in 1908, and Leonard Cornwall Mitchell in 1940 all portrayed the well-known Maori leader. In 1962, Dennis Knight Turner depicted Heke with the ideals of abstract modernism and paved the way for the artists of a later post-colonial 1970s and later New Zealand society. It was during this era that Heke was observed and studied by leading scholars in the fields of New Zealand history and art history.

A series of Treaty related events initiated in 1975 transformed New Zealand's opinion of the role of the Treaty of Waitangi towards Maori rights and government obligations. This inspired several artists to apply Heke to their politically oriented art-works, including Christine Drummond, who incorporated Heke into her protest art of the 1980s, and, from the 1990s, Philip Kelly, Clive Arlidge and Lester Hall. The 2003 to 2004 *Outlawed! Rebels, Revolutionaries and Bushrangers* exhibition displayed art-works of Heke identified in this dissertation, and further reinforces the concept of 'national identity'. It is this concept of a 'national identity' that will be defined in the context of New Zealand's changing attitude towards its bicultural foundations as identified in Heke's pictorial representations.

Outline of chapters

Chapter One: *Heke Portrayed by Colonial Artists of the Pioneering Period* identifies the motivation for Heke's willingness to be portrayed, and why the colonial artists of the Pioneering Period in this paper wanted to depict him. Chapter Two: *Heke's Revival in Pictorial Representations from 1886 to 1962* explores New Zealand's developing independence, in relation to Heke pictorially represented by artists who developed an interest in him from 1886 to 1962, the Revival Period. By reviving his legacy and further contributing to New Zealand's national identity, their illustrations of Heke represent a nation that was developing a social conscience between Maori and Pakeha, and an independence from Great Britain.

Historical interpretations depicted by the artists of the Revival Period contributed to the public demand to Maori equality in New Zealand, subsequently acted upon in 1975, the year that is identified as a political renaissance in New Zealand's bicultural history. In Chapter Three I explore *Pictorial representations of Heke in the post-1975 New Zealand Art*. Created as a means to convey political statements during the 1980s and early 1990s, when Maori raised public awareness of Crown injustices towards Maori, Heke's pictorial representations are examined in a post-colonial context.

Chapter Four: *Heke Outlawed! Pictorial representations of Heke in the Australian exhibition 'Outlawed! Rebels, Revolutionaries and Bushrangers'* examines selected Heke images displayed in the 2003 to 2004 touring Australian exhibition *Outlawed! Rebels, Revolutionaries and Bushrangers*. This chapter will engage in issues surrounding the 'myth' of Heke, such as his presence in exhibition

space, his comparison with other international 'outlawed' legends, and national and international interpretations of his legacy. Finally, by examining the role of Heke's images in New Zealand's changing society, this dissertation will conclude that Heke's pictorial representations are a crucial component to New Zealand's national identity from 1840 to 2005.

Chapter One

Heke portrayed by colonial artists of the Pioneering Period.

The portrait of Hone Heke is an index to his character. His nose, though not the predatory *ihu-kaka*, or strong hook-nose, that distinguished some great Maori leaders, was prominent and well-shapen; his prominent jaws and chin denoted firmness and resolution. The old Kaikohe natives of to-day speak of Heke's kauae-roa, his long chin, as the salient character of his face. He was tattooed, but not with the full design of *moko*, such as that borne by his great kinsman and antagonist, Tamati Waka Nene.¹

James Cowan

Writing in 1922 of the colonial artist J. A. Gilfillan's drawing *Hone Heke Pokai* (fig. 4), renowned New Zealand historian James Cowan's analysis provides a fundamental incentive for the cross-examination of portraits of Heke by colonial artists of the Pioneering Period.² Although the original role of artists who accompanied colonial explorers and imperial officials to the South Seas was to document 'curiosities' native to the land that was subject to exploration and potential colonisation,³ the artists of the Pioneering Period were actively involved with Maori society. Although the Bay of Islands had long since hosted settlers from countries including Britain, France, and America, with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, on the sixth of February, 1840, New Zealand was an established colony of the British

¹ Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars*, 1955, p.16.

² According to New Zealand historian James Belich, the first tide of settlers came in hundreds from 1769; 'the second, from 1840, in thousands; the third, from 1860, in tens of thousands.' James Belich, *Making Peoples. A History of the New Zealanders: From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, Auckland, Penguin Books, 1996, p.115. Although the dates from which the Pioneering Period occurred are specified in volumes one and two of James Cowan's *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period* as being from 1845, the immensity of human traffic arriving from the United Kingdom and Ireland from 1840 until the 1870s justifies this time span as being the hub of the Pioneering Period.

Empire. Artists who accompanied officials and settlers interacted with Maori for both professional and social purposes, and they were employed to interact and document the physical appearance of Maori, *toi Maori* (Maori creativity), and New Zealand flora and fauna for the public in Great Britain.⁴ Therefore the purpose of these artists (both professional and amateur), by the time of the first pictorial representation of Heke in 1840, was three-fold: scientific, social and political.⁵

Illustrations of Heke were important during the Pioneering Period, because he was one of the more significant Maori leaders to challenge the ‘partnership’ between Maori and the British Government. By attempting to expose the ‘index to his character’,⁶ the colonial artists featured in this chapter realised his fame (or infamy) amongst Maori and reproduced his likeness for a fascinated British public. According to art historian Roger Blackley,

It was his celebrity status as the leader of the first major rebellion against the colonists that resulted in the 1840s portrayals of Hone Heke. Newspapers around the Empire reported on the conflict, stimulating a desire to put a face to the famous name.⁷

By depicting Heke, colonial artists have contributed to a collection of representations of him which document changes in attitudes in New Zealand society. Heke’s images were lithographically reproduced for mass-production and paintings were exhibited

³ According to the Australian social historian Cedric Flower, ‘The artist was a servant of science and his skills a means to an end.’ In Cedric Flower, *The Antipodes Observed: Prints and printmakers of Australia 1788-1850*, South Melbourne, The Macmillan Company of Australia, Pty, Ltd, 1975, p.10.

⁴ These viewers consisted of the general public and academic members of society. The images were displayed in exhibitions available to the general public and published in scientific journals produced for academic members of society.

⁵ The depiction of New Zealand flora and fauna was for scientific purposes. However, by depicting Maori, including Heke, artists engaged in both social and political activity. Moreover, the artists’ interaction with Maori and Heke were a means of negotiation between Heke (who represented some Maori) and the artist (who represented the British Crown).

⁶ Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars*, 1955, p.16.

⁷ Roger Blackley, *A Nation’s Portraits: Art History Lecture Series 03*, Wellington, Art History, Victoria University of Wellington, 2005, pp.36-37.

in New Zealand, Australia and England, the colonial artists promoted the development of a new country and contributed to its autonomy.⁸

The various styles and influences of R. A. (Richard Aldworth) Oliver, Joseph Jenner Merrett, J. A. (John Alexander) Gilfillan, William Duke and George French Angas will be examined, thereby identifying Heke's contribution to the construction of a national identity by means of exotic encounters between the Maori leader and the colonial artists. Moreover, his images in this chapter demonstrate the influence of specimen paintings of eighteenth and nineteenth century natural history painters, such as Sydney Parkinson and Augustus Earle, and exemplify the influence of Romantic concepts of the 'Noble Savage'⁹ and 'Otherness' towards Maori, thereby establishing Heke's depiction as a curio for a European audience.

The concept of the 'Other' (the romanticised fascination with non-European ethnic cultures) is a feature of Imperialism, where Maori were seen as curiosities for the entertainment of European audiences. The effect of 'Otherness' and Imperialism is acknowledged by the eminent twentieth century cultural philosopher Edward Said (refer to introduction). According to Said, Imperialism: 'effectively silences the 'Other', it reconstitutes difference as identity, it rules over and represents domains

⁸ Angas' *Honi Heke and Eruera Patuone* was first published in the artist's *The New Zealanders Illustrated* (1847). Oliver had anticipated that his illustrations would be reproduced for publication. However, his paintings were never reproduced on the same scale as Angas' illustrations.

⁹ The concepts of Noble Savage, 'a mythic personification of natural goodness by a romantic glorification of savage life', and Otherness, first became popular subject-matter with philosophers, writers, poets and artists associated with the Romantic movement of the eighteenth century. By analysing and researching the 'myth' of the Noble Savage, anthropologist Ter Ellington acknowledges that although the term Noble Savage is often associated with the Swiss-French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who developed the phrase in his paper of 1755 entitled *A Discourse upon the Origin and Foundation of Inequality among Mankind*, it was coined by the English writer John Dryden in his 1672 publication *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards*. In Ter Ellington, *The Myth of the Noble Savage*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press, 2001, pp.1-8.

figured by occupying powers, not inactive inhabitants.’¹⁰ Heke’s story was only partially reported, it was distorted by its appeal to a British audience rather than full coverage of the facts. They have reinforced the ideology of British Imperialism by reconstituting Heke’s ‘difference’ (to European ethnicity and culture) as his ‘identity.’ Because he was most commonly associated with signing the Treaty of Waitangi and the felling of the flagpole at Kororareka, his portraits simplify the extremely complicated relationship between Maori and Pakeha in the mid-nineteenth century.¹¹ Their representations of Heke therefore supported British imperialism rather than Heke’s own character.

A brief introduction to the artists

R. A. Oliver, an English commander in the Royal Navy, is the first recorded European artist to depict Heke.¹² Joseph Jenner Merrett’s compositions of Heke dating from 1845 to 1850 outnumber those of any artist. His images of Heke have been the basis for subsequent artists to depict Heke’s likeness. George French Angas, a trained natural history painter from England, was the most accomplished artist of his contemporaries. He was recognised as professional and travelled artist (he depicted Heke along with other scenes and images of the ‘Antipodes’). While in New Zealand J. A. Gilfillan produced an extensive repertoire of art-work, including several images of Heke copied from Merrett’s illustrations, before his family was murdered by a young male Maori, an incident which had him leave for Australia.

¹⁰ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, New York, Alfred A. Kopf, Inc., 1993, p.166.

¹¹ Heke, a political tactician, engaged with both militant and diplomatic convoluted affairs involving British officials and neighbouring hapu (sub-tribe) leading up to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and the subsequent attacks on the Union Jack.

William Duke, an Australian-based painter of whaling scenes and architecture, briefly travelled to New Zealand where he depicted two portrait paintings, including one of Heke. These artists were not only the first to depict and record the representation of the celebrated chief, but were among the first to illustrate scenes and images from New Zealand. Each encounter between Heke and these artists was a diplomatic cause: these artists constructed images that effectively transferred Heke's mana¹³ on to paper.

By 1837, Christian missionaries had long since educated Maori in Western beliefs. Artists such as Merrett and Angas paid attention to the interactions between missionaries and Maori in those early colonial times enthusiastic about the notion of training, educating and 'civilising' Maori with Western traditions of law and Christianity, thus imposing Western morality on Maori society. Because the artists themselves were educated with Christian conviction, Christianity was also a common interest from which the artists could establish a relationship with Heke.¹⁴ As trust grew between Heke and the artists, opportunities arose for the artists to paint Heke. Judging from Heke's stance and dress in these early portraits it is clear that they incorporated Biblical and antiquity-influenced images into his stance and dress.¹⁵

That the artists' encounters with Heke are an extension of European encounters with other Maori, will be demonstrated in the study of the following

¹² No recorded earlier images of Heke have been identified before 1840.

¹³ In accordance with tikanga Maori (Maori protocol), an image of person contains spiritual qualities, an image of any person is therefore sacred, because it is an extension of the subject, thereby qualifying Heke's pictorial representations to be tapu (sacred).

¹⁴ For further information on the influence of Christianity on Heke, refer to his biography in the Introduction chapter.

¹⁵ The influence of the Bible and antiquity in Heke's pictorial representations is evident with his posture, stance, and the draping of his clothing. He, like Omai, is compared to classics of antiquity such as the *Apollo Belvedere* (320 BC) and representations of Biblical figures such as Michelangelo's *David* (1504).

colonial artists. Of the colonial artists who were acquainted with Heke (namely Oliver, Merrett and Angas), their relationship with the Maori leader was less informal than that of a British, although the tension between Heke and the artists was intense. Although their encounters with Heke may have convinced them that his character separated him from other Maori, the artists continued to portray Maori as the Other, and he remained an object of display for a curious European audience.

R. A. (Richard Aldworth) Oliver (1811-1889)

Captain Richard Aldworth Oliver was an accomplished watercolourist and painted most of his works while he was Captain of Her Majesty's Sloop *Fly*, a survey ship that covered New Zealand and Pacific waters from 1847 to 1851.¹⁶ According to Leonard Bell, 'He painted Maori in either traditional or European clothing, however his subjects are generally considerably European in appearance.'¹⁷

By excluding European occupation in his paintings, Oliver attempted to compose Maori in an untainted habitat, which subsequently enhanced the picturesque qualities of a pure and natural New Zealand environment. Any signs of the impact of European settlement were, according to Bell, 'largely incidental to his concern with the picturesque. His New Zealand watercolours were akin more to tourist mementos – the natives in costume, with real world and real life kept at a distance....'¹⁸ Oliver emphasised the aesthetic qualities of his compositions in order to please a potential

¹⁶ Leonard Bell, 'Colonial Fortunes: The New Zealand Paintings of Commander R. A. Oliver', *Art New Zealand*, vol. 30, 1984, p.48. Furthermore, according to Bell, 'The ship was based mainly in Auckland and was used by Governor, Sir George Grey, on inspection tours of the early European settlements throughout New Zealand.' – Bell, 'Colonial Fortunes', 1984, p.48.

¹⁷ Bell, 'Colonial Fortunes', 1984, p.50.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.49.

European audience; Maori were portrayed as romantic figures, as ‘heavenly creatures.’ He avoided anything that might be seen as ‘rough, ugly or discordant’¹⁹ to a European audience.

Oliver’s *Honi, Bay of Islands*

Many of Oliver’s character studies have a generic ‘picture book’ quality to them, a quality exemplified in *Honi, Bay of Islands*, 1840 (fig. 5). The individual characteristics of his subjects are given less attention than the overall balance and harmony of the composition. Oliver portrayed the Maori character of his subjects through the inclusion of traditional clothing and adornment such as korowai (cloaks), hei tiki (figurative pendant) and ta moko (tattoo). Although aesthetically pleasing, the water colours of Oliver are also historical documents: they represent Maori, tikanga Maori, and early colonial New Zealand from a European perspective. He produced several landscapes, but mostly pa scenes, portraits of named Maori, and studies of unnamed Maori (the majority young women), and occasional depictions of Maori activities and encounters between Maori and Europeans.²⁰

Honi, Bay of Islands is unlike any other portrait of Heke.²¹ He is depicted in the foreground of what appears to be an active Maori society, emphasising the landscape in the background. His elaborate korowai displays a ruffle of feathers, and two vertical lines on the cloak’s border; it is appropriate that the red blanket

¹⁹ Bell, ‘Colonial Fortunes’, 1984, p.49.

²⁰ Ibid., p.50.

²¹ Furthermore, *Honi, Bay of Islands* has not been appropriated by artists of the Pioneering Period or beyond. There is no resemblance of Oliver’s *Heke* in later pictorial representation of Heke.

concealed beneath the korowai symbolises his mana (social status).²² However, concealed beneath the korowai and shrouding the length of his body, is an undergarment is exposed displaying three horizontal lines. This combination of clothing and adornment on Heke contrasted with the foreground and background activity makes this pictorial representation unique.²³ The only segments of Heke's body that are exposed are his right arm (he is holding a mere), his neck (displaying a pendant), and head and feet. Heke is displaying a full-facial moko, a feature that curiously transforms in various paintings throughout this period.

The social events depicted in the background portray two people enjoying a conversation, a group of Maori gathered around a fire, and men pushing a waka into the sea (or bringing a waka onto land). Heke is depicted as though he has left a social situation in order to be portrayed by Oliver. Although painted in the Bay of Islands (as the title suggests), the exact location is unknown. However, Oliver has depicted specific geographical features of the region, including a river that divides the levelled foreground from the mountainous background.

According to Leonard Bell, 'The terms 'picturesque' and 'interesting' recur frequently in Oliver's *Journal* descriptions of Maori people and artefacts, and landscapes. Indeed, his choices and treatments of subjects were fundamentally mediated by prevailing conventions of the picturesque and the exotic in European art.'²⁴ His sketches of Maori depict 'ethnically non-specific' physical features and appear to be more European than Maori, a habit that recurs in the images of Maori

²² In tikanga Maori (Maori custom), the colour red signifies chiefly status and mana.

²³ This painting is unique because pictorial representations of Heke that include other people, activity and landscape are scarce, next appearing in Arthur David McCormick's 1908 painting *Heke fells the flagstaff at Kororareka*, studied in Chapter Two.

composed by colonial artists. Heke, in Oliver's watercolour is portrayed as a 'Noble Savage' and is consequently comparable to Sir Joshua Reynolds' *Portrait of Omai*, 1775-76 (fig. 6). According to Michelle Hetherington, curator of the Australian exhibition *Cook & Omai: The Cult of the South Seas*, Omai was the 'very personification of the Noble Savage.'²⁵ Although Oliver's painting is not composed with the same Romantic conviction as Reynolds' *Omai*, it is of the same tradition: both compositions illustrate Polynesian subjects in a manner influenced by figures of antiquity.²⁶ Furthermore, both Omai and Heke are portrayed as the 'Other' – the purpose of their display is for a European audience; they are curios for entertainment purposes.

Oliver's male figures, including Heke, tended to be primarily 'clothes-hangers' or exotic 'specimens' and their Maori identity was conveyed by a weapon, cloak or tattoo – all suitably picturesque items. In this portrait, Heke is not an exception. His face is fully tattooed, and his korowai is regal with an exposed arm that bears a patu (club). Oliver supported his representation of Maori in korowai and other traditional garments by stating: 'There is no one with the least feeling for the Picturesque who does not lament the change of the native costume.'²⁷

Produced in the year of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, Oliver's pictorial representation of Heke, *Honi, Bay of Islands*, embodies the established partnership between Maori and British. It encapsulates the 'birth of New Zealand as a nation', the origins of New Zealand's national identity. However, as captain of the

²⁴ Bell, 'Colonial Fortunes', 1984, p.50.

²⁵ Michelle Hetherington, 'The Cult of the South Seas', cited in Francesca Rendle-Short (Ed), *Cook & Omai: The Cult of the South Seas*, Canberra, National Library of Australia, 2001, p.2.

²⁶ Figures of antiquity, such as the *Apollo Belvedere*, inspired the artist's composition of his subjects.

survey ship *H. M. S. Fly*, he was primarily concerned with Britain's interests in New Zealand, and with Maori as curiosities. Composed at a time when New Zealand was often affectionately known as 'Maoriland', the painting recognises the transition of New Zealand as a monocultural society, to officially becoming a bicultural nation with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Belonging to the Rex Nan Kivell Collection, *Honi, Bay of Islands* was displayed in the Waitangi Exhibition, Old Parliament House, 1990²⁸ for the sesquicentennial celebrations of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, and the celebrations of New Zealand's bicultural identity.

Joseph Jenner Merrett (1816-1854)

Joseph Jenner Merrett was a settler, 'well known in the northern portion of the island'.²⁹ In 1846 he wrote that his '... interests and prospects are bound up in New Zealand... it is the land of my adoption.'³⁰ Married to a Maori woman, with whom he had lived since 1841, and fluent in te reo Maori (the Maori language), he has been described as a Pakeha-Maori, 'an insider who was also an outsider'.³¹ According to Bell, Merrett 'counselled moderation and diplomacy in any dealings with them, arguing that peaceful colonisation depended on winning them over non-violently, not on military suppression.'³² The methods of 'winning them over non-violently' was an attempt to persuade Maori into becoming a part of the British Empire. He

²⁷ Bell, 'Colonial Fortunes', 1984, p.49.

²⁸ National Library of Australia website: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an2963470-v> Date accessed: 26/8/04

²⁹ Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 1992, p.34.

³⁰ Ibid., p.34.

³¹ Blackley, 'The Portraits of Joseph Merrett' cited in Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 1992, p.34.

³² Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 1992, p.36.

believed that partnership, ‘rather than remaining an insignificant dependency’,³³ with the British would prevent them from ‘relapsing into their original state of barbarism, and becoming a prey to the lawless and the licentious rovers of all nations.’³⁴

Merrett’s portraits of Heke

In April of 1846, the year before George French Angas’ celebrated *The New Zealanders Illustrated (T.N.Z.I)* was published, Merrett advertised (in New Zealand)

Portraits of Heki, Kawiti, Heke’s wife, Tamati Waka, Noble, Ripa, and others will arrive from Sydney, by the earliest opportunity.... They will be published in Sydney, Hobart Town and England; first singly, then in sets, with letterpress, containing as much interesting biography as can be collected.³⁵

Of all the colonial artists to depict Heke, none have produced more portraits of him than Merrett.³⁶

In his *Simmonds Colonial Magazine* article Merrett wrote about the ‘rebels’ Kawiti and Heke relatively sympathetically: ‘... notwithstanding that there are dark spots of their savage natures exhibited in one or two instances, still there is large proportion of civilisation and intelligence amongst them.’³⁷ Merrett’s engagement with Maori life and custom, his relationship with Governor Grey (who promoted the artist’s works), and multiple productions of Heke illustrations, have made Merrett’s images of Heke the most accessible during the mid-nineteenth century, and therefore

³³ Joseph Jenner Merrett, ‘An Account of a Visit to the New Zealand Chiefs, Heki and Kawiti’, in *Simonds Colonial Magazine*, v.9, September-December 1846, p.433, cited in Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 1992, p.36.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ In comparison to George French Angas, Merrett’s status as an artist was not recognised. It is for this reason that his pictorial representations of Heke usually follow in recognition to Angas’ only painting of Heke.

³⁷ Merrett, ‘An Account of a Visit to the New Zealand Chiefs, Heki and Kawiti’, 1846, p.439, cited in Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 1992, p.36.

the most widely published, rivalled only by George French Angas' single most popular depiction of Heke.³⁸

Merrett's ambition to portray Heke prompted him to perform an unconventional deed. In February 1846, Merrett engaged in a 'spying mission' in which 'he posed as an agent of the Americans carrying an important letter for Heke's eyes only.'³⁹ According to art historian Roger Blackley, 'It was during this visit that Merrett surreptitiously made portrait drawings of Heke on which he based a range of pencil and watercolour reproductions.'⁴⁰ Heke's varying appearances were composed from Merrett's memory. His 1845 watercolour *Hone Heke Pokai*, composed before his spying operation, was therefore constructed from imprecise memory, and his subsequent illustrations were composed with more precision.

Commanding mana and authority, *Johnny Heke and wife*, 1846, (fig. 7), is the first of four Merrett illustrations (excluding subsequent lithographical reproductions) featuring the husband and wife, and is the first of two paintings depicting Heke and Hariata unaccompanied. Formal paintings, both are portrayed in korowai (formal cloaks); Heke has his face profiled and his facing to his right. Hariata (Heke's second wife, and Hongi Hika's daughter) is behind her husband and facing the viewer. The contrast of the cloaks is captured by Merrett, who has illustrated Heke's light coloured cloak in the foreground overlapping Hariata's dark feathered cloak in the background. Because Heke regularly dressed in European clothing, this picture is an example of a staged portrait. Although depicted in the foreground, Heke appears to be the dominating figure. Hariata, however, is presented in a reinforcing role. The

³⁸ See the subsection of George French Angas in this chapter.

³⁹ Blackley, *A Nation's Portraits*, 2005, p.37.

title of the painting acknowledges Heke, but does not identify the name of his wife. However, it is implied that by gazing towards the viewer, thus emphasising her presence, Hariata exercises an assertive role.

Portraying Heke, Hariata and Kawiti in profile, *The warrior chieftains of New Zealand*, 1846 (fig. 8), was, according to Blackley, Merrett's 'most ambitious outcome'.⁴¹ Curiously, Hariata and Kawiti are standing on either side of Heke, and are facing to their left, whilst Heke is turned right to face his wife. The painting depicts Heke carrying a rifle and Kawiti carrying a taiaha. Heke and Kawiti are dressed in traditional Maori clothing, while Hariata is draped in European materials, resembling a figure of antiquity. Symbolising a person of social standing, Heke's mana is further enhanced by the display of feathers in his hair.

In the lithographic reproductions of *Warrior Chieftains of New Zealand* (fig. 9 & fig. 10), the renowned Sydney-based Australian portrait artist William Nicholas reproduced the original full length standing portraits of Merrett's watercolours of Hone Heke, Hariata and Kawiti. According to Bell:

The lithograph after Merrett, *Warrior Chieftains of New Zealand*, which features Kawiti, Heke, and his wife Hariata, can be related to the experiences and attitudes that Merrett recorded in the *Simmonds Colonial Magazine*. Insofar as these people, central participants of the Northern Wars 1845-46, had been in the news, the lithograph's publication would have had a topical immediacy. The seemingly positive presentation – Heke, handsome, forceful-looking in strong profile with a rifle, Kawiti, old and benevolent-looking, Hariata, attractive and agreeable – corresponded with Merretts published views of them, and also fitted his belief that they had much to offer peaceful colonisation, even though at the time they were still adversaries of the British.⁴²

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.37.

⁴¹ Ibid..

⁴² Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 1992, p.36.

Warrior Chieftains of New Zealand was for sale in Auckland, Port Jackson, and England⁴³ and it infuriated Heke. He was angry about the portrait's exposure of the subjects' 'likeness', even though the subjects 'fitted his belief that they had much to offer peaceful colonisation'.⁴⁴ When the interpreter Edward Meurant visited Heke in October in 1846, he recorded the leader's fury over the portraits:⁴⁵

'Who knows who this foreigner is?' Heke asked the assembled people. 'He may an imposter! A second Merritt! Come to take our likeness and expose us for sale, in Auckland, Port Jackson and England. Who can believe the foreigners [Pakeha], they tell so many lies.'⁴⁶

According to Blackley, 'Nicholas's edition of lithographs transmitted Heke's image throughout the colonial realm'.⁴⁷ Heke's fury was legitimate because Merrett was not permitted to display Heke's portraits. Furthermore, Heke believed that the display of his portraits were an invasion of his privacy.⁴⁸

Kawiti is depicted with Heke in three Merrett paintings: *The warrior chieftains of New Zealand*, *Hone Heke with his wife Hariata, with Four Attendants*, 1846, (fig. 11) and *Group of Natives, including Honi Heke, Hariata, and Kawiti*, 1846 (fig. 12). In 1840, when William Hobson arrived in New Zealand having been commissioned as lieutenant governor, Kawiti vigorously resisted the introduction of British rule. The dynamic conflict of interest between Heke and Kawiti is exemplified with their disagreement over the signing of the Treaty, which Kawiti

⁴³ Meurant papers, Auckland Institute and Museum, Ms205, in Roger Blackley, 'The Portraits of Joseph Jenner Merrett', in *Art New Zealand*, no.56, 1990, p.84.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Blackley, *A Nation's Portraits*, 2005, p.37.

⁴⁶ 'Meurant notebook' cited in Blackley, *A Nation's Portraits*, 2005, p.37.

⁴⁷ Blackley, *A Nation's Portraits*, 2005, p.37.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

reluctantly signed.⁴⁹ However, he gave Heke full approval with the felling of the flagstaff.⁵⁰

Merrett's contacts with these powerful and influential chiefs and their followers were close, and enabled him to make sketches of them on the spot, even if surreptitiously 'through the window of my little house' in the case of Heke.⁵¹ His inclusion of the elder Ngapuhi chief, Kawiti, encapsulates the support Heke had from respected Ngapuhi leaders.⁵² The ulterior motivation of Merrett's visit to Kawiti and Heke, would, according to Bell, 'seem to be an intelligence gathering mission, an attempt to gauge the chiefs' intentions, military or otherwise, towards colonisation and Grey's administration.'⁵³

Because each colonial artist's depiction of Heke differs, Merrett's illustrations are likely to be the most accurate documentations of Heke. Including attributes unique to tikanga Maori, his facial features, clothing and adornment are often emphasised. However, similar to other European artists of the Pioneering Period, Merrett's pictorial representations of Heke do not illustrate Maori physicality. Although Heke's physical features and stance are especially complicit, Merrett, like his contemporaries, has transformed him into a figure of European antiquity, and, apart from his clothing and adornment, fail to represent him as a New Zealand Maori.

⁴⁹ Moon, *Hone Heke*, 2001, p.20.

⁵⁰ Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, Auckland, The Penguin Group, 2003, p.184.

⁵¹ Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 1992, p.36.

⁵² Heke was the 'new face' of a political struggle previously addressed by his uncle, and Kawiti's ally, Hongi Hika during the 1820s and 1830s.

⁵³ Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 1992, p.36.

Like Heke, Hariata was influenced by close contact with early settlers and missionaries, and had lived for some years with the family of the C.M.S. missionary James Kemp. According to Bell, 'In the watercolour *Hone Heke and His Wife Hariata, with Four Attendants*, Heke is not the stern-profiled figure of the single figure portrait or lithograph, but merely a tame looking 'hanger' for an ornately decorated cloak.'⁵⁴ Hariata provided a feminine quality to illustrations featuring Heke. Merrett observed her character and physical qualities: 'She is a woman of excellent proportions ... her manner exceedingly agreeable, with a quite pleasing smile in the expression of her lips ... a superior woman for a native.'⁵⁵ Although Merrett was captivated by Hariata's beauty, and by portraying her he did further romanticise the paintings, she is represented as the sole object of classical ideals;⁵⁶ she is represented as a prestigious woman of mana, and is interpreted as a source of strength for Heke.

Because Heke was educated in both Maori and English customs, the knowledge he acquired from the C.M.S. introduced him to biblical illustrations and subsequently other forms of Western art including portraiture. Moreover, Heke was familiar with portrait and topographical artists who always accompanied foreign officials and were constantly composing illustrations. It is likely that he was informed about, or observed pictorial representations of his famous uncle, Hongi

⁵⁴ Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 1992, p.41. Furthermore, Bell states: 'These pictures are visual analogues of the characters in Merrett's poetic romance, 'The Lizard rock', which features 'handsome', 'dusky' warriors, beautiful maidens, and groups of girls who 'laughed in merry glee' – fictional entities distinct from Maori whom Merrett documented in his *Simmonds Colonial Magazine* report.' Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 1992, p.41.

⁵⁵ Merrett, *Simmonds Colonial Magazine*, p.429, cited in Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 1992, p.36

⁵⁶ Here, Hariata is compared to notable females of classical mythology such as Aphrodite, the goddess of fertility.

Hika such as James Barry's oil painting *The Rev. Thomas Kendall and the Maori Chiefs Hongi Hika and Waikato*, 1820 (fig. 13).

In *Heki, The Commander in Chief during the late war...*, 1850 (fig. 14), the bust of Heke is one of many portraits to display his profile, and with such a close detailed image of him, the viewer is exposed to the details of his moko. Of all the variations of Heke's moko, this semi-facial moko is accurate, although Merrett does compose one other painting with Heke displaying full moko. The korowai that shrouds Heke's shoulders is likely to be that of kuri (dog) skin. From Heke's dense hair two erect feathers arise, symbolic of his chiefly status.

Merrett was one of very few artists who embraced, and completely engaged with Maori society. Of the examined artists, he was the only artist to demonstrate Maori and European co-existence, an achievement that provides a model for Maori and Pakeha in contemporary New Zealand society. However, not unlike the suspicion between Maori and Pakeha in contemporary New Zealand society, he did have motives in portraying Heke. Although composed 165 years ago, Merrett's pictorial representations of Heke are comparable to Maori/Pakeha relations in contemporary New Zealand society, and therefore represent an integral part to New Zealand's identity.

Copies of Heke after Merrett.

Aside from William Nicholas' lithographs of Heke reproduced from Merrett originals, Merrett's images of Heke have been further reproduced for publishing purposes and for artistic/historic interest. The Alexander Turnbull Library collection

contains an illustration of Heke attributed to John Williams from a compilation of sketches by John Williams, Cyprian Bridge and other artists.⁵⁷ It illustrates Heke in profile and clothes identical to J. A. Gilfillan's portrait of Heke (see the J. A. Gilfillan subsection), but with more of the cloak showing, to about waist level.⁵⁸ The notable exhibited and published copies by unknown artists of Heke are *Johnny Heki*, 1856 (fig. 15), and *Heki and his wife*, 1859 (fig. 16). *Johnny Heki* was copied from Merrett's *The Commander in chief*. In *Johnny Heki*, the artist has developed Heke's image (originally his head and shoulders) and depicted his torso. This copy displays more of his korowai, and, like Oliver's and Merrett's earlier paintings of Heke, his right arm is exposed holding a mere. The mere depicted in the unknown artist's developed reproduction of Merrett's *The Commander in chief*, Oliver's *Honi, Bay of Islands*, and Merrett's original engraving *Heke and his wife* is significant because it is a reminder of his mana⁵⁹ and is reminiscent of an event that occurred when Heke met Grey for the first time in more than two years at Reverend Richard Burrow's mission house at Waimate North in 1848. To mark the occasion, Heke presented Grey with his greenstone mere, 'not so much as a mark of respect and an emblem of peace, but as a token of acceptance of Grey's right to be in New Zealand and of

⁵⁷ Illustrations of Heke attributed to J. A. Gilfillan, John Williams and Cyprian Bridge all originate from Merrett originals. In Chapter Two, Elizabeth Mary Hocken's depiction of Heke, although attributed to Gilfillan, and said to have been copied from an officer's sketch book, is based on a Merrett original see fig. 4.

⁵⁸ According to the Alexander Turnbull website, 'Bridge and Williams would have met Hone Heke, but were both known for copying the work of other artists.' For full report, see Alexander Turnbull website: <http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz> Date accessed: 8/4/04

⁵⁹ Aside from Merrett's original painting of Heke with a mere and the developed reproduction by the unknown artist, the first artist to depict Heke with a mere is R. A. Oliver. The three paintings are the only identified pictorial representations of Heke with a mere.

Heke's expectation that the Queen's representative would honour the treaty.'⁶⁰ Symbolically, by accepting the gift, Grey was also accepting the responsibility of trusteeship. The mere depicted by Merrett and by the unknown artist are uncommon and are noteworthy since Merrett generally portrays Heke with a single barrel rifle or taiaha.

Despite the signature on the lower right of the painting, this is not a work by Merrett but a copy, on paper watermarked 1856. Again, belonging to the Rex Nan Kivell Collection this copy was exhibited at the Alexander Turnbull Library in 1990 for the sesquicentennial celebrations of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.⁶¹ Except for an inaccuracy in colour, and subtle differences in Heke's facial structure and head ornamentation, the unknown artist has copied Merrett's 1846 watercolour. The title of this painting is an excerpt from the inscription in the lower portion of the painting, which continues to read: 'He died of consumption in 1849, caused by a blow he received from his wife in a fit of jealousy.'⁶² This is incorrect, as Heke died of tuberculosis in 1850, and it is unlikely Heke contracted tuberculosis from a strike by his wife, presumably Hariata. Such a statement, while most likely erroneous, nevertheless speaks of the developing mythology that surrounds Heke to this day.

Johnny Heke and wife, 1859, is the second of two pictorial representations of Heke and Hariata. Reproduced in Arthur S. Thomson's *The story of New Zealand: past and present - savage and civilized*, vol. 2, it depicts several considerable changes from *Johnny Heke and wife*. According to Marian Minson, curator of the

⁶⁰ Freda Rankin Kawharu, 'Heke Pokai, Hone Wiremu', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Internet source, unpaginated. See www.dnzb.govt.nz Date accessed: 31/3/04

⁶¹ The National Library of Australia. Internet source, unpaginated. See <http://nla.govt.au/nla.pic-an2963470> Date accessed: 26/8/04.

1990 exhibition *Encounter with Eden: New Zealand 1770 – 1870* it was published ‘with the legend, ‘Heke and his wife, from a sketch by Merritt’. As there was no signature reproduced on the engraving it appears that the copyist did not use this source; he or she is much more likely have copied directly from a drawing by Merrett...’.⁶³ The engraving combines the solitary intimacy conveyed in *Johnny Heke and wife* with the likeness and pose of Heke and Hariata in *The warrior chieftains of New Zealand*, 1846. Heke is illustrated wearing feathers, and holding a mere. If not for her exposed chest, Hariata, draped in European fabric and displaying a European hairstyle and hair ornamentation, is represented as a ‘civilised native’.

Since 1990, *Heke commander in chief* has become a notable portrait of Heke, appearing in the exhibitions *Encounter with Eden* (1990) and *Outlawed!* (2003-2005) and has appeared in catalogue publications accompanying the exhibitions. *Heki and wife* appeared in A. S. Thompson’s 1859 publication *A history of New Zealand*, an early attempt to introduce New Zealand to readers in New Zealand and abroad. Subsequent versions of Merrett’s Heke were copied by the likes of colonial artist J. A. Gilfillan, and E. M. Hocken around 1905. The continuous reproduction of Heke therefore exemplifies the development of his iconic status, a theme examined in more detail in Chapter Two.

⁶² To view the script, refer to the reproduction of the painting.

J. A. (John Alexander) Gilfillan (1793-1863)

John Alexander Gilfillan resided in New Zealand for less than seven years before relocating to Australia under tragic circumstances in 1847.⁶⁴ Although he was a drawing teacher from Glasgow, with some claims to professional status, he was trained in carpentry and engineering. He came to New Zealand in 1841 and settled with his family in the Wanganui district, where he became involved with local Maori, and composed numerous drawings of them (fig. 17).⁶⁵ His talent as an artist left a realistic and human account of Maori, and from reproductions he appears to have been an able draughtsman sympathetic towards Maori and interested in conveying something of the changes in their life brought on about by European colonisation.⁶⁶ As with all artists of the Pioneering Period, interaction with Maori was a regular occurrence, and the artists were not limited to neutral observation.

While it was common for Maori and colonial visitors and settlers to interact on good accord, Gilfillan was an extreme exception. Resentment to the growing presence of Pakeha grew steadily and in 1847 a travelling group of Maori killed Gilfillan's wife and three children, wounding him and his eldest daughter.⁶⁷ After the atrocities of his time in New Zealand, he and his two surviving children relocated to Sydney.

⁶³ Marian Minson, *Encounters with Eden: New Zealand 1770–1870*, Wellington, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, 1990, p.43.

⁶⁴ Kate McCahey, *The Concise Dictionary of New Zealand Artists: Painter, Printmakers, Sculptors*, Wellington, Gilt Edge Publishing, 2000, p.95.

⁶⁵ Among these sketches of Maori in Gilfillan's sketchbook appears to be an image of Heke. The cap and ta moko are very similar to images of the Ngāpuhi leader by Merrett and Angas.

⁶⁶ Gordon H Brown & Hamish Keith, *An introduction to New Zealand painting 1839-1980*, Auckland, William Collins Publishers Ltd, 1982, p.17.

Gilfillan's drawings of Heke

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, James Cowan, in his 1922 publication *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period*, referred to Gilfillan's illustration of Heke.⁶⁸ Although Gilfillan's illustrations of Heke, including his notable *Hone Heke Pokai* (fig. 18), are variable copies of Merrett's 1846 watercolour *Hone Heke Pokai*, they have contributed to the analysis of Heke as a person, and maintain Heke's significance in New Zealand history.

Before Cowan's analysis of Heke's pictorial representation, on the first of November, 1905, Thomas W. Downes read before the Wellington Philosophical Society his paper, entitled *Some Historic Personages*, which examined five Gilfillan drawings: *Maketu*, *Rauparaha* (Te Rauparaha), *Hone Heke* (fig. 19), and *His Wife* (Hariata) and the anonymous engraving *Heke and his wife*, published in Arthur S. Thomson's *The Story of New Zealand: Past and Present – Savage and Civilised* from 1859.

Up until 1905 the only three notable published images of Heke were Merrett's, *The warrior chieftains of New Zealand*, Angus' *Hone Heki and Patuone*, and the anonymous engraving of *Heke and his wife*. In spite of the accessibility of these images, Downes observed that there was: 'no description of his personal appearance in any of the books at my command.'⁶⁹ However, by comparing the

⁶⁷ W. Tyrone Power, *Sketches in New Zealand with Pen and Pencil*, Christchurch, Kiwi Publishers, 2000, p.57.

⁶⁸ Refer to the introduction of this chapter.

⁶⁹ Thomas W. Downes, 'Some Historic Personages' in A. Hamilton (Ed), *Transactions and proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, vol. 38, Wellington, John McKay, Government Printing Office, 1905, p.125.

anonymous artist' *Heke and his wife* (attributed to Merrett) from *Thompson's Story of New Zealand* with Gilfillan's images of the Maori leader, Downes concludes:

The stern, commanding look of the warrior is well portrayed both in this [reproduction of Heke after Merrett] and in Gilfillan's picture, but the former does not correspond altogether with the latter, the whole head being too square, with nose, forehead, and lips too much after the European type. The general *moko* lines are much the same in both, but the nose-markings which appear in Gilfillan's sketch are wanting in Merritt's, [sic] whilst the connecting lines between the markings round the lips and the cheek spirals are different. Of the two drawings, Gilfillan's is the finer, and, being larger, more details are obtained.⁷⁰

Although Downes' conclusion is significant because it is the first recorded attempt to analyse Heke's pictorial representations, it is problematic. Gilfillan's pictorial representations are variations of originals by Merrett, therefore the latter deserves full recognition for influencing Gilfillan's composition of Heke. In addition, because Gilfillan did not portray Heke from real-life, the accuracy of Heke's likeness in his drawings further contributes to the 'mythology' surrounding Heke.

In Gilfillan's version of *Heke*, Heke is depicted in profile (illustrating his head and shoulders). He is wearing a close-fitting peaked cap, like a schoolboy's cap. His moko is clearly shown and he is wearing a chequered cloak, with fringed collar.⁷¹ This representation of Heke will be compared to Elizabeth Mary Hocken's copy of 'copied from officer's sketchbook' in the second chapter.

⁷⁰ Thomas W. Downes, 'Some Historic Personages', 1905, p.125.

⁷¹ National Library of New Zealand. Internet source, unpaginated. See <http://timeframes1.natlib.govt.nz/nlnz-get-info?Action=Info;RefNum=A-114-003> Date accessed: 10/4/04.

William Duke (1814-1853)

With his wife Lucy and their infant son Charles, born on the voyage out from England, William Duke arrived at Sydney in the *Lady McNaughton* as an assisted immigrant from Cork, on the sixteenth of December, 1840.⁷² Originally a carpenter by trade, he found employment as scene-painter and mechanist at Sydney's Royal Victoria Theatre, and subsequently travelled to New Zealand.⁷³ On the seventh of May, 1845, Duke arrived at Hobart Town from Auckland aboard the *Sir John Franklin*. It was in Auckland that he established himself as a portrait painter.

Dukes' *The Celebrated Chief Hone or John Heke*

A disregarded painting of Heke, Duke's *The Celebrated Chief Hone or John Heke*, 1846, (fig. 20) provides another view of the Ngapuhi leader. His two portraits of Maori, *The Celebrated Chief Hone or John Heke*, and *Portrait of Mekata* (sic Maketu), 1846, (fig. 21), were presumably begun in New Zealand and completed in Australia.⁷⁴ Although it is uncertain whether Duke met either Heke or Maketu on his visit to the Bay of Islands, he was prompted to depict them in draft form, and ultimately paint *The Celebrated Chief Hone or John Heke* and *Portrait of Mekata* back in Australia.⁷⁵ Although the portraits of Heke and Maketu conflict with his usual subject-matter of whaling and architecture, they are comparable by reason that

⁷² Caroline Von Oppeln, 'Duke, William Charles (1814-1853)', cited in Joan Kerr, (Ed.), *The Dictionary of Australian Artists: Painters, Sketchers, Photographers and Engravers to 1870*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1992, p.226.

⁷³ Von Oppeln, 'Duke, William Charles (1814-1853)', p.226.

⁷⁴ Ibid, p.226.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

his genre paintings romanticise people, places and events.⁷⁶ According to Bell, ‘There is no doubt that Duke’s *Hone Heke* bore little resemblance to the “real” Hone Heke, for this is a naive view.’⁷⁷ He describes Duke’s painting of Heke as a ‘painting of an amateur who lacked the technical expertise to realise a convincing illusion of physical and psychological likeness’.⁷⁸

Although Bell believes that Duke’s portrait of Heke is naïve, it is composed on grand proportions, with the subject being presented with regal manifestation. The dark hue of the painting is disrupted by light which focuses on Heke’s chest. The painting displays the bust of Heke, with feathers from his korowai coiled around him. The three white feathers depicted in Heke hair are highlighted against the black background and indicate a point of separation of the intensive black background and the subject’s dark image. Heke, while looking slightly away to the left of the painting, displays his moko, whilst avoiding eye contact with the viewer.

Although Duke’s painting is comparable to Gillfilan’s sketches for the reason that it focuses on the bust of Heke, he is composed with the grandeur of the European tradition. He is not represented as a scientific curiosity or composed with connotations of the ‘Noble Savage’. Belonging to the Rex Nan Kivell Collection of the National Library of Australia, discussion of this painting recurs in Chapter Four.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ For further information on Duke’s whaling and architectural paintings, refer to the Tasmanian State Library website: <http://www.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/Heritage/crowther.htm>. Date accessed: 6/6/04

⁷⁷ Leonard Bell, *The Maori in European art: a survey of the representation of the Maori by European artists from the time of Captain Cook to the present day*, Wellington, Reed, 1980, p.4.

⁷⁸ Bell, *The Maori in European Art*, 1980, p.4.

⁷⁹ Dukes’ painting of Heke was made accessible to the Australian public at the *Outlawed!* exhibition. This will be discussed in the Fourth Chapter.

George French Angas (1822-1866)

George French Angas was born in Newcastle upon Tyne, England, where he studied to be a natural history painter. In 1844, soon after he had completed his education, he travelled to Australia and subsequently New Zealand.⁸⁰ In the 'Antipodes' he painted and sketched the geographical properties of Australia and New Zealand and depicted Aborigines and Maori.⁸¹ He travelled widely throughout Australia and accompanied Governor Grey on some of his journeys to remote settlements, including New Zealand.

Angas' *Hone Heki and Eruera Patuone*

While in Auckland Angas met Heke, the result being the painting of Heke and his cousin, Tamati Waka Nene's brother, Eruera Patuone in *Hone Heki and Eruera Patuone*, 1847, (fig. 22) and as stated by A. W. Reed, 'They presented a great contrast in character, which is apparent also in their dress.'⁸² Angas' portrait of Heke and Patuone was subsequently reproduced in a hand coloured lithograph in 1847 by Benjamin Waterhouse Hawkins. Although in New Zealand only for a short time, he was exposed to Maori art and craft and interacted with Maori of all social status – women, children, elders, warriors and leaders, therefore he was not alien to tikanga Maori and no doubt would be able to approach Maori better than most British officials.

⁸⁰ Moira M. Long, 'George French Angas', *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Internet source, unpaginated. See www.dnzb.govt.nz Date accessed: 27/5/04.

⁸¹ His family's interests in South Australia no doubt persuaded him to travel to Australia and New Zealand, then known as the 'Antipodes', cited in Cedric Flower, *The Antipodes Observed*, 1975, p.122.

⁸² A. W. Reed (Ed.), *Maori Scenes and Portraits*, Wellington, A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1979, p.52.

Angas' artworks, including *Hone Heki and Eruera Patuone*, were exhibited in Australia and England,⁸³ and were often reproduced and published in publications such as the deluxe picture book *The New Zealanders Illustrated*.⁸⁴ A sketch of Angas' Heke is reproduced in Jack Lee's '*I have named it Bay of Islands...*', 1847 (fig. 23).⁸⁵ This particular version of Heke is likely to be a preliminary drawing of Heke for painting *Hone Heki and Eruera Patuone*. The paintings of Angas, exemplified in his portrait of Heke, demonstrate his interest in Maori as curiosities – as items to be observed and studied. Heke's image is peculiar, however, in that he is obviously entirely dressed in European clothing underneath a korowai that may well be for display purposes only.

In *Hone Heki and Eruera Patuone* Angas has exemplified two Ngapuhi chiefs who have participated in the formation of colonial New Zealand. According to Angas, 'The renowned warrior Hone Heke, has, within the past three years, become celebrated throughout the civilized world for his determined and resolute opposition to the British power, and defeat of the troops at the Bay of Islands.'⁸⁶ Angas observed Heke's position in Ngapuhi's social ranking and the power that he possessed: 'Heki subsequently became E Hongi's fighting man, during that warrior's decline, and married his only daughter – he belongs to the great northern tribe of Nga Puis [sic Nga Puhi] and has longed embraced Christianity.'⁸⁷

Next to Heke in Angas' painting is Patuone, the elder brother of Tamati Waka Nene, the chief of Hokianga. In his journal, Angas compares Patuone to Nene:

⁸³ Reed (Ed), *Maori Scenes and Portraits*, 1979, p.1.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Jack Lee, '*I have named it the Bay of Islands...*', Auckland, Hodder and Stoughton, 1983, unpaginated.

⁸⁶ George French Angas cited in Reed (Ed), *Maori Scenes and Portraits*, 1979, p.52.

‘though equally distinguished for his attachment to Europeans, and his loyalty to the Government, with his renowned brother, he has less strength and energy of mind.’⁸⁸ The story of Heke’s actions are well known, so when Angas described Patuone’s political agenda as a ‘peace-maker’,⁸⁹ the viewer is ultimately exposed to the visual comparison between peace-maker and antagonist that are Patuone and Heke.

Angas has astutely displayed the imbalance of power possessed by the two men. Although there are several similarities between the two men, there is one notable difference. Obvious similarities between Heke and Patuone include them both belonging to the Ngapuhi iwi, both belonging to the same whanau, and that both Maori leaders encouraged the advancement of Maori society. The notable difference, however, was that Patuone’s loyalty was to the British administration, where as Heke’s loyalty was in protest of the Government.

This was the most widely published pictorial representation of Heke of Pioneering Period. When applied to contemporary New Zealand society, the painting reflects the division of New Zealand society of those for and against the Government. Heke, who was against British governance represents those against the Crown, and Patuone, who was in favour of British governance, represents those who support the New Zealand system of governance.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

Chapter Summary

Although by 1840 Heke was a respected leader and was involved with incidents that remain significant to Ngapuhi and New Zealand history, the ultimate reason for his depiction was due to the popular interest in the leader as a result of his actions at Waitangi and Kororareka. The sudden lack of interest in Heke can perhaps be attributed to his death in 1850 and the New Zealand Land Wars of the 1860s, which, according to leading New Zealand historian, James Belich, were ‘triggered by the sale of Waitara land in Taranaki to the Crown by a junior Ati Awa chief, Teira, against the wishes of the senior chief, Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitaki.’⁹⁰

To colonial artists such as Joseph Jenner Merrett and George French Angas, Heke represented all the qualities of a Maori leader: he was a chief by right of birth, he commanded a large following of Northland Maori, and he had respect from both his allies and opponents. The leadership identified by these colonial artists enabled them to portray him in a Romantic tradition; his pictorial representations during this time were likely to have been influenced by the tradition of the Noble Savage, artists would portray him in the style of antiquity (whether for professional or personal purposes), and so his paintings are comparable to Sir Joshua Reynolds’ *Omai*.

Art historian Janet Wolff argues that works of art ‘...are the products of specific historical practices on the part of identifiable social groups in given conditions, and therefore bear the imprint of ideas, values and conditions of

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Furthermore, Belich writes that the New Zealand Wars continued to 1872 ‘developing into a bewildering series of intersecting conflicts spread over much of the North Island and involving most Maori.’ In James Belich, *Making Peoples*, p.229.

existence of those groups, and their representatives, in particular artists.’⁹¹ The ‘specific historical practices’⁹² are interpreted into the colonial artists’ pictorial representations of Heke, by combining their Western traditions of Antiquity with their experiences of ‘uncivilised natives’⁹³ of New Zealand. As with Reynolds’ revered painting, the neo-classical practice of referring to antiquity is combined with the exotic and ‘Noble Savage’ appearance of an inhabitant of the South Seas.

It is hereby argued that Heke was aware that portrait painting would elevate his social status, and would subsequently influence the relationship between Maori and the British. With this knowledge, Heke volunteered to pose for Oliver, Angus, and Duke in order to publicise his high status in Maori society, his importance in European society, and develop relationships between Maori and the British Crown. His last known pictorial representation in the Pioneering Period was the 1859 reproduction of Merrett’s *Johney Heke & wife* (published in Thomson’s *The story of New Zealand*). Two likely reasons why the fascination with Heke, as a portrait interest, dwindled are his death in 1850 and the distraction of the New Zealand Wars from the 1860s. However, towards the end of the nineteenth century, there was a revival in the interest of New Zealand history, as an extension of Australian history was addressed in 1886 by the Australian-based English artist Julian Ashton in the *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*.

⁹¹ Janet Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, London, MacMillan, 1981, p.49, cited in Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, p.3.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Refer to the objective of the Church Missionary Society in the introduction to this dissertation for an explanation of ‘uncivilised natives’.

Chapter Two

Heke's revival in pictorial representations from 1886 to 1962.

...it may be argued that only subtle shadings of interpretation distinguish the idol from the icon.¹

Albert Boime

As a colony, under the British Crown, from 1840 to 1907, New Zealand advanced rapidly to self-government.² Towards the end of the nineteenth century, however, there was a tendency for 'settlers' and 'explorers' in Australia and New Zealand to review the colonial histories of their given countries. To illustrate the stories of the Pioneering Period, significant characters from New Zealand history, including Heke, were repeatedly selected and elevated to an iconic status. Heke's pictorial representations as discussed in this chapter, the Revival Period, are the genesis of his elevation to an iconic status in New Zealand society from 1886 to 1962.

The term 'icon' is defined by the art historian Albert Boime as 'typically an image of a revered person or sacred object' however, 'it may be argued, that only subtle shadings of interpretation distinguish the idol from the icon.'³ Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the magnitude of Heke's actions was recognised by people engaged with the study of New Zealand history, including the artists examined in this chapter. Although it is questionable that four of the five artists examined in this chapter, Julian Ashton, Elizabeth Mary Hocken, Arthur David

¹ Boime, *The Unveiling of National Icons*, 1998, p.1.

² W. David McIntyre, 'Imperialism and Nationalism' in Geoffrey W. Rice (Ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1992, p.339.

McCormick and Leonard Cornwall Mitchell revered Heke, they were the first to depict him as a national icon at a time when the ‘Antipodes’ had become Westernised and influenced by the modern trends of Europe and America. For Dennis Knight Turner, Heke symbolised the development of New Zealand’s bicultural history and its relevance to New Zealand society in 1960s. For the artists, when recalling key people and events from New Zealand’s history, Heke was certainly a forerunner. The artists of 1886 to 1962 realised his significance and importance in the formation of New Zealand as an autonomous nation.

As mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, Ashton, Hocken, McCormick, Mitchell, and Knight Turner have all produced art-works that convey their realisation of Heke’s significant contribution to New Zealand history. Heke’s pictorial representations by Hocken, McCormick, and Mitchell were composed around the same period as New Zealand’s involvement in the South African Boer Wars (1899–1902),⁴ World War One (1914–1918), and World War Two (1939–1945). By 1962, Knight-Turner applied post-World War Two styles and techniques that had emerged in international modern art trends to his Heke paintings.

Heke’s pictorial representations in war and post-war New Zealand, produced during this time contribute to early concepts of national identity that accompanied the war effort. New Zealand’s involvement with international conflict contributed to the artists’ sense of nation-hood, thereby promoting a patriotic sense of national

³ Boime, *The Unveiling of National Icons*, 1998, p.1.

⁴ According to military historian Ashley Gould, despite patriotic support for New Zealand from some Maori, ‘direct Maori participation’ in the South African Boer Wars ‘was ruled out by the imperial authorities. The idea of using non-white troops in a ‘white-man’s’ war was deplored by some sectors of New Zealand society.’ Ashley Gould, ‘Maori in the Boer War’, in Ian McGibbon (Ed), *Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*, Auckland, Oxford University Press, 2000, p.296.

identity that was interpreted into their Heke illustrations. Consequently, it is ironic that the figure who opposed British rule (and subsequently British presence) was the subject of a resurgence of interest in small areas of the art community at a time when Pakeha and Maori unified and first fought alongside each other as ‘New Zealanders’ (as opposed to fighting against each other as ‘native’ and ‘settler’ in New Zealand).⁵

With the duration of World War One, it became fashionable for descendants of colonial settlers to call themselves ‘New Zealanders’, a term previously applied to Maori. In doing so, they examined their rich national history and identified a multitude of figures and incidents that had contributed to forging New Zealand’s independent identity. Heke was among several Maori, including Hongi Hika, Tamati Waka Nene, and later Maori religious movements such as the Hau Hau, who were therefore included in a romanticised version of New Zealand’s history. Heke’s legacy had transformed into an entertaining narrative, in a manner comparable to England’s outlaw bandit Robin Hood.⁶ The tradition of ‘romanticising’ the ‘Other’,⁷ or in this case Maori by colonial artist, is briefly explored amongst other aspects of ‘outlaw’ representations in Chapter Four.

The artists examined in this chapter have either copied Heke’s early pictorial representations or have constructed their personal interpretations of him and his significant political and personal actions from their imagination, utilising Heke’s persona as a means of historical revival and as a political device. In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson uses the term ‘imagined nations’. By this he means

⁵ On the twenty-sixth of June, 1917, Maori were recognised as full participants of the New Zealand army and became liable for conscription, which led to the formation of the Maori Battalion.

⁶ Discussed further in the fourth chapter *Heke Outlawed! Pictorial Representations of Heke in the Australian Exhibition ‘Outlawed! Rebels, Revolutionaries and Bushrangers’*.

that while most fellow-nationals will never meet or know about one another, ‘yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion’.⁸ He argues that ‘the nation came to be imagined, and, once imagined, modelled, adapted and transformed.’⁹ In contrast to ‘fear and hatred of the Other, and its affinities with racism’, a reality in historic and contemporary New Zealand society, Anderson reminds us that ‘nations inspire love’, and that ‘cultural products of nationalism’ such as ‘poetry, prose fiction, music, plastic arts’ exemplify the adoration of the nation.¹⁰ Heke’s pictorial representations in this chapter are ‘cultural products of nationalism’ that symbolise the admiration these artists had for New Zealand and its history.

A brief introduction to the artists

Julian Ashton, and Arthur David McCormick have created Heke’s image as contributions to international publications with which both artists were involved. Ashton, an Australian-based English artist, depicted Heke for *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*, and McCormick, a well-travelled Irish artist, attempted to recreate Heke’s likeness for Reginald Horsley’s publication entitled *New Zealand*.¹¹ Elizabeth Mary Hocken, one of two female artists studied in this dissertation, was involved, according to Annette Facer, with the suffragette movement ‘by twice signing the 1892 petitions for the vote.’¹² Leonard Cornwall Mitchell 1949’s pictorial representation of Heke was composed in the tradition of a tourism-poster, a

⁷ Refer to the first chapter for an explanation of the ‘Other’.

⁸ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 1991, p.129

⁹ Ibid, p.129.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ The significance of Horsley’s *New Zealand* is explained in the Arthur David McCormick section.

tradition that promoted and proved New Zealand equality and independence from the 'Mother Country' England. For these artists, Heke represented an adventurous past; a glorious history that was uniquely New Zealand's thereby contributing to a newly developing New Zealand identity. Dennis Knight-Turner incorporated Heke's image with modernist techniques introduced by 'new art magazines'¹³ that 'put New Zealand in touch with its traditional British sources'¹⁴ and art trends from Europe and the United States.

The artists examined in this chapter were influenced by nineteenth century New Zealand historical narrative, their imagination, and the changing socio-political environment of New Zealand (including New Zealand's association with Australia)¹⁵ between 1886 and 1962. Ashton's engraving of Heke was created for the third volume of the *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia* in 1886. Hocken's water colour of Heke, copied from a Joseph Jenner Merrett illustration in a book from the library of her husband, Dr Thomas Moreland Hocken, was composed at the height of the Suffragette movement at the beginning of the twentieth century. McCormick's interest in Heke is comparable to his upbringing in Belfast, Northern Ireland. Here we can assume McCormick's knowledge of the unstable political situation between Irish Republicans and supporters of Ulster Unionists, is likely to have influenced his identification of Heke as a patriotic rebel.

¹² Annette Facer, 'Mrs Hocken Requests...Elizabeth Hocken's contribution to the Hocken Library', in Rosemary Entwistle (Ed), *Mrs Hocken Requests... Women's Contribution to the Hocken Collection*, Dunedin, Hocken Library, 1993, p.7.

¹³ Tony Green, 'Modernism and Modernisation', cited in Mary Barr (Ed), *Headland: Thinking Through New Zealand Art*, Sydney, Museum of Contemporary Art, 1992, p.153.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Originally, British colonial management of New Zealand had been based in New South Wales before 1840.

Mitchell's painting entitled *A Reproduction of the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840* appeared on the cover the *New Zealand Journal of Agriculture* in 1949, nine years after the centennial celebrations (or protest) of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Raised in a Maori community, Knight-Turner was influenced by toi Maori and became aware of his Pakeha identity at an early age. This 'awareness' would later impact on his philosophy of biculturalism in New Zealand. By depicting Heke using modern art techniques, he applied the icon of New Zealand's bicultural history to post-war 1960s New Zealand society. I will now discuss the pictorial works of each artist individually whilst acknowledging their common preoccupation with Heke.

Julian Ashton (1851-1942)

Julian Ashton was a painter, teacher and writer whose influence on Australian art and artists was both strong and far reaching. Before arriving in Australia to work as an illustrator, he studied in London¹⁶ and at the Academie Julien in Paris,¹⁷ and was familiar with French Realism and the Barbizon School, the springboard for Impressionism. In 1896 he founded the famous Academie Julien, later the Sydney Art School, which attracted artists such as George Lambert, Sydney Long and New Zealand born Elioth Gruner.¹⁸ In addition to his immense contribution to art

¹⁶ Julian Ashton, *Now Came Still Evening On*, Sydney and London, Angus and Robertson Ltd, 1941, p.12.

¹⁷ Dinah Dysart, *Julian Ashton: Essay on the artist*. Canberra, Australian National Gallery, 1981, p.13. Also see Ashton, p.19.

¹⁸ Australian Prints. Internet source, unpaginated. See <http://www.australianprints.com/ashton.htm> Date accessed: 17/5/04

development in Australia, Ashton is famously associated with the *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia* and drawing the iconic Australian outlaw, Ned Kelly.¹⁹

In an article from the Australian newspaper *The Age* from the twenty-seventh of February, 2003, Ashton is described as being ‘one of the most famous artists to sketch Ned Kelly from life.’²⁰ At Kelly’s trial in Melbourne on the twenty-fifth of October, 1878, he sketched the outlaw bandit. At the trial, Kelly objected to Ashton sketching his image, and, according to Ashton, the Judge stated: ‘If anyone is making a sketch of the prisoner without his consent, this proceeding cannot be allowed in court.’ By this time, however, the artist admitted ‘I had all I wanted’.²¹ He contributed to an Antipodean rebellion against England and a burgeoning sense of national pride symbolised by Kelly and Heke, romanticised as they both were (and are still). Ashton was therefore fascinated with the rebel and the romantic element of the outlaw legacy. He related Heke’s resistance to British occupation in New Zealand with that of Ned Kelly’s outlaw bandit reputation, and identified Heke’s iconic status amongst New Zealand Maori and some settlers.

Ashton’s *Hone Heke*

Ashton’s engraving, *Hone Heke* (fig. 24), was composed especially for the 1886 publication *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*.²² To exemplify key Maori of the Treaty of Waitangi, he illustrated Heke’s opponent and kinsman Tamati Waka Nene (fig.

¹⁹ Identifying Heke and Ned Kelly as iconic outlaw legends, Chapter Four will examine the *Outlawed!* exhibition and briefly examine its trans-Tasman significance.

²⁰ Refer to the *The Age* website:

<http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2003/02/26/1046064100279.html?oneclick=true> Date accessed: 21/2/05

²¹ Ashton, p.32.

²² Ashton’s *Heke* and *Waka Nene* engravings appear in the third and final edition of the *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*.

25). Although it is not recorded whether Ashton had observed *The Celebrated New Zealand Chief Hone or John Heke* by fellow Australian-based artist William Duke, he did examine George French Angas' portrait of Heke entitled *Hone Heki and Patuone* in order to execute a depiction of Heke for the *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*. The adornment, props and clothing in both illustrations include Heke wearing a cap, European pants and korowai (cloak), and holding a rifle. It is likely that Ashton had examined Angas' representation of Heke in an issue of *The New Zealanders Illustrated*, or had seen Angas' painting at an exhibition. He, along with Australian-based artists such as Frank Mahony, William Macleod and Albert Fullwood, created a multitude of engravings to illustrate the *Atlas* and also composed the engraving of Tamati Waka Nene, 1886, and Waharoa, the gateway of Pukeroa Pa (entitled as *carved gateway of an old pah*), 1886.

Heke's appearance in *The Picturesque Atlas of Australasia* with its accessibility to Australian, British and United States readers and the commercial world, allowed Heke's reputation to spread, along with the Australian artists', beyond Australia. In around 1883, book publishers 'McNeil and Coffey' told Ashton they were 'preparing a great work to be known as the *Picturesque Atlas of Australia*.'²³ The *Atlas* was the first large-scale work to target a mass readership in all Australian colonies, and according to Tony Hughes d'Aeth, author of *Paper Nation: The Story of the Picturesque Atlas of Australasia 1886-1888*,

Just as colonial politics were structured around separate colonies tied bilaterally to Great Britain, so too the colonial press, publishing industry and artistic community were largely segregated. The shift

²³ Ashton, p.35.

to a pan-Australian audience was prompted by the centenary of the settlement of Port Jackson, commemorated on 26 January 1888.²⁴

Most of the machinery and material, including paper, ink, and presses were all imported from America and Britain. According to Tony Hughes-d'Aeth, the 'process-illustrations are all produced by Australian-based artists... and not by the American artists brought over by the *Atlas* proprietors, who tended to sketch more 'picturesque' subjects.'²⁵

Ashton's engravings of Heke and Nene are subject to this 'process illustration', as opposed to the 'picturesque' images produced by the American artists. Although Ashton's pictorial representation of Heke was inspired by Angas' portrait *Hone Heki and Patuone*, the two art-works differ because Ashton's image of Heke is a bold black ink engraving printed on white paper, whereas Angas' is an attempt to paint Heke's likeness with fine colour detail (although Heke is clearly interpreted from a European artist's perspective – he appears to possess both European and Polynesian physical qualities).²⁶ Ashton's engraving is composed in the tradition of those colonial artists who portrayed Heke as a show-piece, as an object of display. Mimicking Angas' composition, he had composed Heke to suit Western ideals of the romantic savage, as the noble warrior, and as the 'Other.'²⁷ It remains somewhat a mystery as to why Ashton's main artistic influence was Angas. This is all the more intriguing since there is no record of his ever seeing the work of

²⁴ Tony Hughes-d'Aeth, *Paper Nation: The story of the Picturesque Atlas of Australasia 1886-1888*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2001, p.xi

²⁵ Ibid, pp. 121-122.

²⁶ In Angas' portrait, Heke has straight hair, a thin nose, thin lips, and a 'petit' figure. This interpretation was translated into Ashton's illustration.

²⁷ An explanation of the terms 'Noble Savage' and 'Other' is provided in Chapter One.

fellow Australian William Duke whose work *The Celebrated Chief Hone or John Heke* was presumably accessible at that time.

By depicting Heke for publication in the *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*, Ashton's contribution to New Zealand's national identity was pioneering. He contributed to a publication that is identified as encouraging the independence of Australia and New Zealand from Great Britain, and he is identified as the first artist from the Revival Period to recognise Heke's iconic status in New Zealand's bicultural history. Although Ashton's depiction of Heke is an aide to illustrate the unsettled Maori/British relationship in the 1840s, international events would inevitably unify Maori and Pakeha. Thirteen years after Ashton's engraving was published in the *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*, Maori and Pakeha fought alongside each other in various militant campaigns overseas beginning with the South African Boer Wars in 1899.

Elizabeth Mary Hocken (1848-1933)

Elizabeth Mary Hocken was a skilled artist, a council member of the Otago Art Society and joined the campaign for female suffrage by twice signing the 1892 petitions for the vote.²⁸ Hocken made a valuable contribution to the Hocken Collections. *E. M. H.*, as she signed her sketches and paintings, assisted her husband, Dr Thomas Morland Hocken, extensively in his acquisition of the manuscripts, monographs, photographs, maps, paintings and works of art on paper and canvas that became the exceptional collection now known as the Hocken Library, administered

by the University of Otago. Her sketchbook in the Pictorial Collection of the library is a fine example of her meticulous recording of Maori material. The collection also holds many of her copies of early New Zealand images, including her painting of Heke. According to Annette Facer, contributor to the book of essays *Mrs Hocken Requests... Women's Contribution to the Hocken Collection* based on the exhibition of the same name, Hocken 'exhibited with the Otago Art Society from 1887 to 1914'.²⁹

Hocken's *Hone Heke Pokai*

During the time Hocken exhibited at the Otago Art Society (the height of her artistic endeavour), she reproduced either J. A. Gilfillan's or William Strutt's copy of Merrett's 1846 watercolour *Hone Heke Pokai*. Although composed for leisure, hobby, and interest, Hocken's version *Hone Heke Pokai* (fig. 26) has contributed to the canon of Heke pictorial representations. Published in T. L. Buick's *New Zealand's First War or The Rebellion of Hone Heke*³⁰ and *The Treaty of Waitangi: how New Zealand became a British colony*,³¹ it proved to be invaluable for the revival of Heke's legacy in the twentieth century.

Although Hocken's illustration of Heke is undated, it is apparent that the watercolour was composed around 1905. Her marriage to Dr. Thomas Morland Hocken, in 1883, enabled her to have access to his extensive collection of New

²⁸ Rosemary Entwisle (Ed). *Mrs Hocken Requests... Women's Contribution to the Hocken Collection*, Dunedin, Hocken Library, 1993, p.7.

²⁹ Annette Facer, 'Mrs Hocken Requests...Elizabeth Hocken's contribution to the Hocken Library' 1993, p.9.

³⁰ Buick, *New Zealand's First War*, p.33.

³¹ Buick, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, p.160.

Zealand art works, literature and taonga Maori (Maori treasures).³² The literature available to Hocken included volume thirty-eight of *Transactions and proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* (1905) which included a drawing of Heke attributed to J. A. Gilfillan.³³ Although Hocken, in her water-colour, acknowledges Gilfillan as the artist whose work is published in *Transactions and proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, however, she has attributed her version of Heke as being copied from ‘an officer’s sketch book’.³⁴

As a suffragette, it is likely that Hocken admired Heke’s resistance towards British governance (a predominantly male establishment); for her Heke represented a convenient symbol of resistance. Towards the end of the nineteenth century and after the New Zealand Wars, New Zealand was developing an independent national identity.³⁵ Following Hariata, Heke’s wife, Hocken is the second of three women who have contributed to Heke’s pictorial representations in this dissertation.

By reproducing Gilfillan’s variation of Joseph Jenner Merrett’s image of Heke, Hocken has contributed to the promotion of female artists in New Zealand’s national identity. She has reproduced an image symbolic of Maori autonomy and resistance against the establishment. Like Heke, she was part of a movement struggling for the recognition of equality and partnership. As Heke publicised his angst towards the British Crown and rallied Maori supporters, Hocken was part of a movement which rallied for woman’s right to vote. It is possible that she realised the

³² A. Hamilton (Ed.). *Transactions and proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, v.38, Wellington, John McKay, Government Printing Office, 1905, plate XVI.

³³ Refer to the J. A. Gilfillan subsection in Chapter One.

³⁴ The information provided was hand written by Hocken below her water colour of Heke.

³⁵ At this time the national identity of New Zealanders was stronger than ever, despite maintaining a patriotic affiliation with the British and ‘Mother England’.

important connection between Heke's struggle and the suffragette movement, as people both fought oppressing European male rule. Therefore, Heke and Hocken represent two minority groups, in terms of race and gender (themes echoed in chapters two and three), struggling for basic political and human rights. Often reproduced in various publications, Hocken's composition of Heke sustained his legacy in New Zealand society at the beginning of the twentieth century. Therefore, Heke, here, is an icon of marginalisation in New Zealand's bicultural history.

Arthur David McCormick (1860-1943)

Arthur David McCormick was born in Coleraine in County Derry, where he was primarily educated before embarking on further study at the Government School of Design in Belfast.³⁶ He exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts from 1889, having moved to London in 1883, and in 1905 he was appointed a member of the Royal Institute of Oil Painters and, in 1906, of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours.³⁷

McCormick worked in many parts of the world, with illustrations decorating the books on Africa, India, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway and Switzerland. Including travel books, he was the illustrator of nearly thirty books. These illustrations consisted mainly of watercolour paintings.³⁸ His book illustrating came to a conclusion during the First World War.

³⁶ Theo Snoddy, *Dictionary of Irish Artists: 20th Century*, Dublin, Wolfhound Press, Ltd, 1996, p.282.

³⁷ Whyte's of Dublin. Internet source. See: <http://www.whytes.ie/Biographies/BiogsMP.htm#Mcgann> Date accessed: 11/7/04.

³⁸ Ibid.

McCormick's painting *Heke fells the flagstaff at Kororareka*

His paintings were often reproduced as illustrations in books such as Reginald Horsley's 1908 publication *New Zealand* of which *Heke fells the flagstaff at Kororareka* 1908 (fig. 27), is the frontspiece.³⁹ *New Zealand* was part of the *Romance of Empire*⁴⁰ series, telling of exotic far away places travelled and explored by representatives of the United Kingdom. New Zealand's history, not unlike the histories of other British colonies, is transformed into a romantic novel⁴¹ for the entertainment of foreigners and for the nostalgic New Zealand audience who were attached to Britain. As stated by Horsley in his introduction: 'This book does not contain a history of New Zealand, but something of the story of many full and stirring days.'⁴²

Horsley then, after dramatically commenting on Tasman's arrival in and departure from New Zealand, writes: 'Then there steps upon the stage of Maoriland that wellgraced actor, Captain Cook; and so the play goes on until the fall of the curtain upon the peace which closed the long struggle of the brave tribesmen with settlers, soldiers and colonists.'⁴³ *Heke fells the flagstaff at Kororareka*, along with eleven other notable images from colonial New Zealand, including the signing of the

³⁹ Reginald Horsley, *New Zealand (Romance of Empire series)*, London, The Caxton Publishing Company, 1908, unpaginated.

⁴⁰ The purpose of *Romance of Empire* series was to promote and glorify Great Britain and its colonies, and to impress readers loyal to the British Empire. Along with *New Zealand*, the *Romance of Empire* series consists of *India, Canada, Australia, Outposts of Empire, South Africa, Africa, North, East and West*. Furthermore, McCormick also illustrated *The Netherlands* from the *Romance of History* series. See Horsley, unpaginated.

⁴¹ Although based on factual events in New Zealand's history, the purpose of the book is to entertain the reader, not to explore historical events in detail.

⁴² Horsley. p.v.

⁴³ Ibid. According to Bernard Kernot, 'The Maori as the noble savage had undergone a revival towards the end of the nineteenth century, and representations of the warrior stereotype were popular with both Maori and Pakeha. Bernard Kernot, 'Maoriland Metaphors and the Model Pa', cited in John Mansfield Thomson,

Treaty of Waitangi, a Hau Hau ceremony, and *A boy's heroism "Awake! Awake!"* (fig. 28), in which a boy sounds his trumpet to alert British soldiers in the presence of a Maori warrior who is raising his axe. The partnership of Horsley and McCormick created the perfect literary/pictorial contribution to the exoticisation of New Zealand, and consequently the legacy of Heke as a romantic figure. Heke's romanticised image, as exemplified in McCormick's painting, has influenced the development of his mythical status in New Zealand culture. Although this has somewhat demoted the historical reality of the man, it has elevated his iconic status and ensured his legacy to that of national legend.

Heke fells the flagstaff at Kororareka is the first published image of Heke cutting the flagstaff down, displayed in the public arena. Within this image, three facts are noteworthy: first, Heke's representation; second, the depiction of Heke's supporters; and third, the depiction of the Union Jack. Although the significance of the flag to Maori culture, and indeed most cultures, is here identified, the political connotations and significance to New Zealand society will be identified later in this chapter.

Heke's representation in *Heke fells the flagstaff at Kororareka* curiously resembles the images of those Maori depicted in Charles Frederick Goldie's and Louis John Steele's *The Arrival of the Maori in New Zealand*,⁴⁴ 1898 (fig. 29). Heke is thin and exhausted; he is composed as though he were thin and exhausted.

Farewell Colonialism: The New Zealand International Exhibition, Christchurch, 1906-07, Palmerston North, The Dunmore Press, 1998, p.61.

⁴⁴ Based directly on Theodore Géricault's famous *Raft of the Medusa* (1819), *The Arrival of the Maoris in New Zealand* is 'probably the best-known history painting ever produced in New Zealand,' however, it is 'essentially a romantic fabrication.' Information obtained from the Auckland Art Gallery website: <http://collection.aucklandartgallery.govt.nz/results.jsp?view=detail&pos=2&id=166> Date accessed: 25/8/04.

However, all of his remaining energy is dedicated to eliminating the symbol of British governance: he raises a hatchet above his head before swiping at the flagstaff bearing the Union Jack.⁴⁵ The Union Jack is lowered by one of his men, whilst in the background and foreground Heke's supporters observe as their leader is about to remove the symbol of British rule.

In this painting, the audience is exposed to Heke's outrage at the British Government and their offending symbol: the Union Jack. Although Heke's anguish towards the flag is apparent, what is not apparent is that McCormick, a citizen of Northern Ireland, also despised the British symbol.⁴⁶ It was thought, by a British soldier, that Heke was Irish and that his real name was 'Johnny Hickey'. According to military historian Michael Barthorp, the soldier's belief that Heke's motive for attacking the British ensign was to 'avenge the wrongs done to his country.'⁴⁷ The political opinions of Irish-born McCormick are unclear. Although he benefited from a British education, he was aware of the Irish struggle with English colonisers and the strife they had caused his fellow nationals.

From the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 until McCormick's 1908 painting, flags in New Zealand were established symbols of power and authority, and represented both British and Maori. When depicting his *Heke* painting, McCormick undoubtedly recalled the function of the British flag as a symbol of power and authority in his native Ireland. In their 1994 publication entitled *Clashing Symbols: A*

⁴⁵ Most European/Pakeha disregarded the delicate political situation between Maori and the Crown, and failed to realize the significance and great importance of the Treaty. The published image of Heke cutting down the flagstaff served as form of historical entertainment instead of a reminder of the unjust history between Maori and the British Crown.

⁴⁶ Because McCormick's career, at this stage, depended on British support, any demonstration of angst towards the British would be subtle in order to maintain a successful career.

⁴⁷ Barthorp, p.49.

report on the use of flags, anthems and other national symbols in Northern Ireland, Lucy Bryson and Clem McCartney analyse the role of national symbols in Northern Ireland. They refer to the world renowned expert on flags Whitney Smith, explaining that flags

...represent or identify the existence, presence, origin, authority possession, loyalty, glory, beliefs, objectives, and status of an entire nation. They are employed to honour and dishonour, warn and encourage, threaten and promise, exalt and condemn, commemorate and deny.⁴⁸

Emphasising flags as being the quintessential representation of a people, the depiction of flags in art conveys developments in nationalistic ideas in New Zealand.

McCormick depicted the most famous (or infamous) image of patriotism associated with colonial New Zealand. For example *Heke fells the flagstaff at Kororareka* contradicts prior accounts of Heke's physical stature and appearance. George French Angas, James Cowan, and Heke's descendent, Freda Rankin Kawharu who all refer to him as a figure of solid stature.⁴⁹ Contradictory accounts of Heke's appearance are exemplified by the accounts of two British officers. One officer described him as 'a fine looking man with a commanding countenance and a haughty manner which appears habitual to him.'⁵⁰ Alternatively, another officer said 'his person is very disgusting; an ugly wide mouth; drunken eye; a broad stout fellow

⁴⁸ Lucy Bryson and Clem McCartney. *Clashing Symbols: A report on the use of flags, anthems and other national symbols in Northern Ireland*, The Institute of Irish Studies, The Queens University, Belfast, 1994, p.8. Because the quote is attributed to 'Smith 1980', and no further reference is provided, I can only assume that Smith is the world renowned vexillologist (one who engages in the academic study of flags), Whitney Smith. See Richard Wolkomir 'Near and far, we're waving the banner for flags', in *Smithsonian*, v.28, no.3, June 1993, pp.70-81.

⁴⁹ For descriptive accounts of Heke, refer to Heke's biography in the Introduction and various accounts of him in Chapter One.

⁵⁰ Barthorp, pp.46-47.

upwards of six feet high'.⁵¹ However, the artist accurately portrays Heke's intense rage while cutting down the flagstaff.

McCormick's portrayal of Heke, although historically inaccurate,⁵² depicts the emotion of the Ngapuhi leader and those Maori who were furious at the 'betrayal' of the British for not honouring their Treaty of Waitangi obligations. The painting depicts two images that symbolise New Zealand's bicultural foundations: Heke and the Union Jack. Despite McCormick's recognition of Heke's place in New Zealand history, by reinforcing New Zealand's affiliation with the British Empire, Horsley's publication, an example of imperial literature, diminished the development of an independent New Zealand national identity. Despite such publications, New Zealand's participation in World War One strengthened the concept of a New Zealand national identity. In fact, as Reverend Ormond Burton, an ex-soldier turned pacifist historian, observes of the World War One period, 'There was no longer any question but that New Zealanders had commenced to realise themselves as a nation.'⁵³

Leonard Cornwall Mitchell (1901-1971)

Leonard Cornwall Mitchell, according to Hamish Thompson, author of *PASTE UP: A Century of New Zealand Poster Art*, 'was probably the 'father' of New Zealand Poster art'.⁵⁴ Head artist with 'Filmcraft' in the late 1920s and in the 1930s,⁵⁵ he

⁵¹ Ibid, p.47.

⁵² According to Jo Diamond, Heke would not have worn a piupiu (flax or grass skirt).

⁵³ O. E. Burton, *The Silent Division: New Zealand at the Front, 1914-1919*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1935, p.22, cited in McIntyre, 'Imperialism and Nationalism', in Geoffrey W. Rice (Ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1992, p.344.

⁵⁴ Hamish Thompson. *PASTE UP: A Century of New Zealand Poster Art*, Auckland, Random House New Zealand, 2003, p.132.

designed posters and illustrations for the Tourist and Publicity Department which ‘captured distinctively New Zealand scenes for the overseas tourist.’⁵⁶ From 1931 to 1970 he was a stamp designer for the Post Office.⁵⁷ His work for the Tourist and Publicity Department in the 1930s captured distinctively New Zealand scenes for overseas. In addition to poster work, he also produced illustrations for pamphlets, advertisements and journals.

Mitchell’s work in the 1930s and 1940s coincided with events that would have a negative impact on New Zealand’s political, economical and social stability. Unfortunately the New Zealand centennial celebrations coincided with the outbreak of the Second World War, but while this had an understandable pessimistic effect on the festivities, the preparations had been underway for quite some time and were hardly disturbed by the distant rumblings in Europe.⁵⁸ When, on the twenty-fifth of November, 1947, New Zealand was granted complete political autonomy,⁵⁹ less emphasis was placed on New Zealand’s ties with Great Britain, and an autonomous New Zealand national identity was further strengthened.

Mitchell’s *A reconstruction of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840*

By 1949, New Zealand had gone from officially becoming a British colony in 1840 to an autonomous nation in 1947. The rapid transition of New Zealand’s development as dependant colony to independent nation was recognised in the

⁵⁵ Thompson, *PASTE UP*, 2003, p.17.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p.17.

⁵⁷ Art historian Mark Stocker states that Mitchell was an ‘...internationally recognised stamp designer: he created 90 stamp designs, including some for New Zealand health stamps, and won United Nations stamp design competitions.’ Mark Stocker. ‘Victor Leonard William Mitchell’, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Internet source, unpaginated. See www.dnzb.govt.nz Date accessed: 31/8/04

⁵⁸ Brown & Keith, p.129.

international arena, with New Zealand's involvement in three overseas wars, and contribution to international trade and economic development (such as the frozen meat industry and other agricultural and horticultural trades). Published on the front page of the January, 1949 edition of *New Zealand Journal of Agriculture*, Leonard Cornwall Mitchell's *A reconstruction of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840*, 1949 (fig. 30), was a celebration of New Zealand's national identity, of all that New Zealand had accomplished within 109 years as a country.

Prior to composing his Treaty painting, it is hereby assumed that Mitchell consulted two notable paintings of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi as a reference point. Marcus King's *The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, Feb 6th, 1840*, 1939 (fig. 31), and an unknown artist's incomplete untitled version of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi (referred to as *A reconstruction of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840*), 1940 (fig. 32) feature different variations of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. However, neither painting features Heke.

On the verso of the front cover *New Zealand Journal of Agriculture* it states: 'The cover has been reproduced from an original painting by L. C. Mitchell, Wellington, who was required to undertake considerable research to produce this portrayal of the scene.'⁶⁰ Identifying the characters represented in *A reconstruction of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840* is accomplished by referring to the verso of the front cover of *New Zealand Journal of Agriculture*.

⁵⁹ King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, 2003, pp.421-422.

⁶⁰ R. E Owen (Ed), *New Zealand Journal of Agriculture*, Wellington, 1949, unpaginated

The painting depicts a group of Maori in the left foreground being challenged by Marupo with taiaha.⁶¹ The flags of many nations are strung along the inside of the roof of a marquee, with tables beyond Marupo. Kawiti is signing the Treaty, watched by witnesses the Reverend Richard Taylor and chief clerk James Stuart Freeman (standing at right of table-end).⁶² Beyond this group is another table (both tables are draped with the Union Jack) with Hone Heke (in his familiar cap) shaking hands with Governor William Hobson. The seated figure on Hobson's left is British Resident James Busby. Other figures also individually identified in the key on the verso of the work are Joseph Nias (captain of the H. M. S. *Herald* – the vessel which transported Hobson to New Zealand),⁶³ Willoughby Shortland (Police Magistrate),⁶⁴ the Reverend Henry Williams,⁶⁵ William Colenso (C.M.S. Printer),⁶⁶ the Wesleyan missionary Samuel Ironside,⁶⁷ Felton Mathew (Surveyor General),⁶⁸ Charles Baker (C.M.S. missionary),⁶⁹ Tamati Waka Nene, Patuone (previously identified in Angas' *Honi Heke and Eruera Patone*), Hakitara, Tareha, a Kororareka chief and Wharerahi.⁷⁰

⁶¹ According to Orange, Marupo was accompanied by Ruhe, 'who kept up a running challenge in the traditional manner.' In Orange, p.55.

⁶² Ibid, p.33.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p.39.

⁶⁶ Ibid, p.35.

⁶⁷ Ibid, p.61.

⁶⁸ Ibid, p.33.

⁶⁹ Ibid, p.39.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p.39. pp.33, 45, 51.

Information obtained from the Alexander Turnbull Library website suggests that although Mitchell's painting is thought to be the most accurate of the reconstructions of the signing of the Treaty,⁷¹

...original accounts state the Reverend Henry Williams was seated to the right of Governor Hobson, beside Captain Nias and the other clergy standing behind Williams behind the table. The marquee was 150 ft long with the Governor's raised platform at the end and some 600 people inside.⁷²

Therefore it was not possible to see outside the marquee as shown in painting. Further accounts do not indicate that there were separate tables at the signing of the Treaty.⁷³ However, despite these historical inaccuracies, and considering the scarcity of Treaty images at this time, the artist was restricted to recreate the event based on his personal interpretation of available information in order to attempt to create a historical likeness.

New Zealand's sense of national identity continued to develop in the years following the end of World War Two in 1945. Mitchell's Treaty painting contributed to the post-war sense of nationalism and national pride. Produced for those in agriculture industry, the January, 1949 edition of the *Journal of New Zealand Agriculture* featuring *A reconstruction of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi* combines two vital areas of New Zealand's national identity. The cover of the journal depicts a scene of historical importance regarding the future of New Zealand land ownership, while the journal itself is a publication dedicated to an industry that remains a primary source of revenue to New Zealand's national economy.

⁷¹ National Library of New Zealand. Internet source, unpaginated. See <http://timeframes1.natlib.govt.nz/nlnz-get-info?Action=Info;RefNum=A-242-002> Date accessed: 16/4/04.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

There is little evidence that notable pictorial representations of Heke were produced in the years between Mitchell's 1949 painting, and Dennis Knight-Turner's 1962 *Heke* paintings (studied next in this chapter). However, a recent discovery of George Wood's 1950s print of the signing of the Treaty features Heke 'wielding a taiaha.'⁷⁴ The print is believed to have been published for a calendar in the 1950s. The recognition that this print has received enables it to be noteworthy and subject for future research. The most notable illustration of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi to date, Mitchell's *A reconstruction of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi* was the most accurate and features Heke in an environment previously undocumented in illustration.

Dennis Knight Turner (1924-)

Wanganui-born Knight Turner attended a school with Maori students, where Maori artistic expression was the strikingly interesting element in the local environment. As such, it was a central subject of his own drawing. In local museums and art galleries he invariably found the Maori material the most interesting, and he also visited all pa (Maori strong-hold) surrounding Wanganui.⁷⁵

For most Pakeha, Maori art remained the property of 'the exotic', ethnographic, touristic decor or entertainment – at the most craft work rather than fine art.⁷⁶ In this climate, Knight Turner, in the early 1940s and 1950s was most unconventional, and virtually alone among Pakeha artists in evaluating Maori art as

⁷⁴ Refer to the Alexander Turnbull Library website:

<http://tapuhi.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/spyus/FULL/MGLOBAL/OPHDR99/187485.11> Accessed: 16/8/05

⁷⁵ Rob Taylor. 'Tiki: The Return of Dennis Knight Turner', in *Art New Zealand* no. 67, pp. 58-62.

⁷⁶ Brown & Keith, p.147.

highly as European art. The attitudes and practices of artists such as Knight Turner were in line with the early to mid-twentieth century modernist view of non-European ‘primitive’ art as a source of revitalising forms and methods for European artists.⁷⁷

Knight Turner’s Heke paintings

Fascinated with Maori motif, in 1963 Dennis Knight Turner expanded his interest in Maori culture from motif and design to Maori history, specifically the events leading up to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. He exhibited a series of paintings that looked at the Maori view of colonisation: *The Historic Defence of the Maori at Kororareka*. Knight-Turner exemplified the transition of the colonial to the post-colonial: he was born and raised at a time when New Zealand was regarded as a British colony, yet his art, including his representations of Heke, would embrace post-colonialist ideals.⁷⁸

In February of 1963, at the Auckland Society of Arts, he presented a series of paintings that, according to art writer Rob Taylor, showed ‘support for Maori defiance, in blazing emblems which commemorate Hone Heke chopping down the Kororareka Flagstaff.’⁷⁹ In November of that year, his exhibition *Landscape Heads*, consisting of a series of paintings depicting New Zealand landscapes, Maori tiki and moko, was ignored and overlooked by the arts community. The lack of interest in this exhibition exemplifies the attitude of New Zealand’s art community towards the

⁷⁷ Roger Cardinal, ‘Primitivism’ in Jane Turner (Ed), *The Dictionary of Art*, v. 25, Macmillan Publishers, London, p.582.

⁷⁸ The concept of post-colonialism is explained further in Chapter Three.

⁷⁹ Taylor, p.62.

origins of Maori/Pakeha relations in, and the formation of, New Zealand as a nation. It is possible that the main subject, Heke, was frowned upon because he was (and is) a reminder of Maori autonomy, and therefore symbolic of, in certain Pakeha circles, the cause of cultural and racial friction.

Along with Knight Turner's more notable contemporaries, Theo Schoon and Gordon Walters, both of whom embraced Maori design and culture, he combined New Zealand history with modern art techniques that were fashionable in Europe and America. Because the problems of location and identification linked New Zealand painting's first century to contemporary developments, the contemporary movement represented an almost complete break with the attitudes of the past, if not always with forms of earlier painting; a break begun sometime in the late 1940s or early 1950s and progressively deepened. The contemporary painters did not reject the activity that had preceded them because the recognition of a possible tradition contributed to their change of attitude.

For Knight Turner, Heke embodied the political past, present, and perhaps represented the future of New Zealand's rich culture, identity, and relationship between Maori and Pakeha, and for this reason the artist was attracted to depict the Ngapuhi leader. *Heke* (fig. 33) and *Heke 6* (fig. 34) from his *Heke* series, displayed in his 1963 exhibition *The Historic Defence of the Maori at Kororareka*, represents more than an exploration of Maori rebellion against the British Crown. The paintings are a salute to Heke and Maori, and explore New Zealand's identity (he realised the significance of Heke and his place in New Zealand's history). It is noted that Knight Turner's personal struggle with recognition in the New Zealand art community is

comparable with Heke's struggle for recognition from the Crown. By depicting modernist abstract painting of Heke with an axe in the foreground of the Union Jack, Knight-Turner combines a significant incident from New Zealand's history with contemporary trends in New Zealand art in order to identify himself as a 'New Zealander'.

Aware of racially-motivated political trends in America and elsewhere, Knight-Turner related neglected colonised ethnic groups to that of Maori in New Zealand and was prompted to address the theme of racial and historical injustices in his *Heke* paintings. In the context of patriotism and protest in American society, Boime states:

...the ever-widening gap between the practice and the promise could not be glossed over forever, and thus the forging of a politics of resistance could be waged over the ritualized flag emblem that carried the full weight of the national democratic rhetoric.⁸⁰

Knight Turner's representation of the Union Jack in *Heke* and *Heke 6* encapsulates his awareness of 'the ever widening gap between practice and the promise' of the Treaty of Waitangi in New Zealand society. The desecration of the Union Jack is symbolic for two reasons. Firstly, it demonstrates the denial of the 'full weight' of the Britain in New Zealand by Heke and his followers, and secondly, it exemplifies the transition in New Zealand society from embracing British patriotism, to developing a strong sense of national independence and developing an independent national identity.

Knight Turner's *Heke* paintings encompass the genres of portrait and history painting. By depicting moko on Heke, he applied traditional Maori motif to

⁸⁰ Boime, *The Unveiling of National Icons*, 1998, p.81.

contemporary Pakeha modernist art techniques. Knight Turner examined both past and present of New Zealand society to construct a national identity, and to answer what it means to be a New Zealander. His paintings are different from all other examined pictorial representations thus far because here Heke has his back to the viewer. This is very appropriate for reflecting his personality as occasionally being arrogant and rude. The moko on his buttocks competes with the Union Jack for the viewers' attention. Between 1949 and 1962 there were no paintings of Heke, a lull comparable to the period between the colonial and nostalgic artists.

To understand Knight Turner's *Heke* paintings, an understanding of the politics of the 1950s and 1960s and the events that were occurring in New Zealand society at this time must be gained. Knight Turner was one of a minority of non-Maori New Zealanders who equally appreciated toi Maori and European artistic traditions. Together with Gordon Walters and Theo Schoon, Knight Turner incorporated Maori symbols and motifs with the new modern styles of Europe and America and created something that reflected their New Zealand identity. Turner appreciated Heke's actions and the politics of his time and subsequently identified the comparison between New Zealand society of the 1840s and New Zealand society of the 1960s.

The key difference thus far between the artists of the Pioneering Period and the artists of the Revival Period is that the former depicted Heke as a curiosity; and the latter as a figure from New Zealand's romanticised history. Knight Turner examines New Zealand in both historical and present contexts, and attempts to find Heke's place in New Zealand's identity. By interpreting this significant incident

from New Zealand's bicultural history, he attempts to explore the definition of 'Pakeha New Zealander' and 'Maori New Zealander'.

After Leonard Cornwall Mitchell's 1949 painting *Reconstruction of the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840*, Heke was not visually represented until Denis Knight Turner depicted him in a series of paintings in 1962. The trend in New Zealand art from the 1940s favoured landscape and an emphasis on regionalism began at this time. Furthermore, because history paintings were not popular Knight-Turner's Heke paintings demonstrate a certain rebellious nature (from both the artist and his subject) because the series depicts an event from history and features figurative image. However, New Zealand artists were, influenced by the trends in American and British and European art that had occurred several years before, and Knight-Turner was no exception; his interest in Maori culture and the Treaty of Waitangi and the influence of modern art is evident in his Heke paintings.

The influence of Maori and modern European art is identified in Knight Turner's Heke paintings of the 1960s. This influence was publicly acknowledged in a newspaper article a decade earlier when an anonymous *Auckland Star* critic said of an exhibition of Dennis Knight Turner, 'Here... is the link between past and future that New Zealand has been needing.'⁸¹ For Knight Turner, Heke symbolised the current state of the nation in 1960s New Zealand. The paintings remind the viewer of the ferocities of New Zealand's bicultural history.

Chapter summary

Influenced by New Zealand's fierce bicultural genesis and overseas artistic contributions, the development of 'Pakeha' art further contributed to New Zealand's national identity. According to Tony Green, these New Zealand artists, in keeping with British standards of excellence, acknowledged that they were, 'native born New Zealanders. Their need was for tokens of their difference from the British, for an independent culture of their own, rooted in new origins.'⁸² Although by 1940 New Zealand had developed an independent identity with occurrences of the Centennial celebrations of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and the comradeship of the Boer War, World War One and World War Two, Heke remained the personification of New Zealand's origins, an integral part to New Zealand's national identity.

To Ashton, Hocken, McCormick, Mitchell and Knight Turner, Heke represented the events that took place in 'old' New Zealand that inevitably established New Zealand as a colony and dominion of the British Empire, and eventually a Nation-State of the British Commonwealth. Heke was never separated from the development of New Zealand's autonomy. As identified in the art-works of Dennis Knight Turner, he symbolised the current historical, political and social state of New Zealand, and the development of Maori historical and cultural awareness in Pakeha society.

Although Mitchell's painting of the *A reconstruction of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840* does not display any influence of avant-garde

⁸¹ 'T.B.', 'Artist Experiments in Line, Colour and Form', *Auckland Star*, 28 June, 1951. Cited in Francis Pound, *The Space Between: Pakeha Use of Maori Motifs in Modernist New Zealand Art*, Auckland, Workshop Press, 1994, p.p.56-57.

⁸² Green, p.147.

developments in modern European art (the nature of the painting was for exposure to the general ‘conservative’ public – there was no element of avant-garde), it was constructed at a time when artists were influenced by the styles and trends of overseas. An excerpt from the 1940 Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Art catalogue reads: ‘Although it is quite apparent that the present time New Zealand is far from possessing an art truly national, the future is not without promise.’⁸³ The national events that coincided with the development of Heke’s pictorial representations discussed in this chapter reinforce his image as a milestone contribution to New Zealand’s developing national identity. However, New Zealand’s bicultural status, fundamental to New Zealand’s national identity, was overlooked and it was not until 1975 that Maori publicly demanded the New Zealand Crown to honour the Treaty of Waitangi. Chapter Three will examine Heke’s image in the realms of public protest and post-colonial discourse.

⁸³ A. H. McLintock, *National Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Art*, New Zealand, Department of Internal Affairs, 1940, p.16.

Chapter Three

Pictorial representations of Heke in post-1975 New Zealand art

[Post-colonialism is] a negotiation between the discourse of the coloniser and the colonised cultures which of course in the struggle for recognition, development, self-affirmation and so on have to negotiate and to materialise to some extent the material culture.¹

Jacques Derrida

The pictorial representations of Heke examined in this chapter are constructed from post-colonial attention, or, in the words of the eminent French philosopher Jacques Derrida, ‘a negotiation between the colonised peoples and the colonisers.’² Although there are many accounts of harmonious relationships between Maori and Pakeha, authoritative relationships between Maori and Pakeha New Zealanders have traditionally been intense, and unperturbed ‘negotiations’ have been a rarity. Representing this intensity, Heke has become an icon of the communicative struggle between Maori and Pakeha cultures.

Although Heke is one of many notable Maori leaders who were actively involved with the promotion of Maori rights in the light of British colonisation, such as Hongi Hika and Te Rauparaha, he is commonly identified as a symbol of promoter of Maori rights and protest against British governance. In the context of Maori/Crown relations he was one of several chief negotiators on the Maori side of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, he was one of the first Maori leaders to sign

¹ Jacques Derrida cited in Laurence Simmons and Heather Worth (Eds.), *Derrida Downunder*, Palmerston North, Dunmore Press, 2001, pp.262-263.

² Ibid.

the Treaty, yet, conversely, he was also responsible for attempting to disempower the British by attacking the flagstaff bearing symbol of the coloniser's authority, the Union Jack. Post-colonial discourse has continued Heke's struggle to disempower the British Crown. Because post-colonialism is 'a negotiation between the discourse of the coloniser and the colonised cultures',³ Heke's post-1975 images are symbolic of the predominantly unsuccessful negotiations between Maori and the New Zealand Government.⁴

Post-colonialism in post 1975 New Zealand

In the 1985 edition of the celebrated New Zealand literary journal *Landfall*, writer Simon During explains: 'Post-colonialism... is the name for products of the ex-colonies need for an identity granted not in terms of the colonial power, but in terms of themselves.'⁵ **As an approach and a concept, the notion of post-colonialism has emerged from a critical literary tradition that has reflected the experiences of groups subjugated by colonial regimes, as described in literary form by members of these groups, as residents or ex-residents of these colonies.**⁶ Countries that qualify as being 'post-colonial' are sometimes referred to as the 'third world', and follow the first and second worlds of capitalist and socialist countries respectively. Moreover, the third world is, according to Professor of English and

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Simon During, 'Postmodernism or Postcolonialism?' in *Landfall*, 1985, p.369, cited in Augie Fleras and Paul Spoonley, *Recalling Aotearoa: Indigenous Politics and Ethnic Relations in New Zealand*, Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1999, p.95.

⁶ Fleras and Spoonley, *Recalling Aotearoa*, 1999, p.93.

Critical Theory Robert J. C. Young, 'the 'non-aligned' nations, the new independent nations that had formerly made up the colonies of the imperial powers'.⁷

In contrast to the third world, the term 'fourth world', however, describes between 5,000 to 6,000 nations representing a third of the world's population whose descendants maintain a distinct political culture within the states which claim their territories.⁸ Because the descendents of the colonial settlers remained in New Zealand (and call New Zealand their home), Maori see themselves as a nation forcefully incorporated into the nation-state of New Zealand,⁹ and until recently, Maori maintained a distinct political culture but were internationally unrecognised.¹⁰

The social position of Maori people in the 1970s and onwards can be described as 'fourth world'. Echoing Heke's angst towards the Crown of the mid-nineteenth century, in 1975 Maori united and protested the New Zealand Government's abuse of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840. Since its signing, the Treaty has often been disregarded and subject to misinterpretation by successive New Zealand Governments and members of the general public. Because the English version of the text, it is argued,¹¹ was incorrectly translated into Maori, those Maori who signed the Treaty did not realise the nuances between the English and Maori versions of the Treaty.

⁷ Robert J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism: a very short introduction*, Oxford/New York, Oxford University Press, 2003, pp.16-17.

⁸ In all cases the Fourth World nation is engaged with a struggle to maintain or gain some degree of sovereignty over their national homeland.

⁹ Centre for World Indigenous Studies. Internet source, unpaginated. See <http://www.cwis.org/fourthw.htm>
Date accessed: 22/3/05

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Mason Durie, *Te Mana Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Maori Self-Determination*, Auckland, Oxford Press, 1998, p.177. Also see Doug Graham, *Trick or Treaty?*, Wellington, Institute of Policy Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, 1997, p.10.

On the thirteenth of September, 1975 Maori united and marched from Cape Reinga to Wellington in protest of the Crown's neglect of the Treaty partnership. Led by Dame Whina Cooper, the hikoi (march) publicised concerns over unceasing disposal of Maori land in Crown hands. Gathering support at about twenty-five stops along the way, the hikoi reached the capital on the thirteenth of October. The hikoi concluded with a collective of 5,000 Maori on the steps of Parliament and presented a petition bearing 60,000 signatures.¹² Subsequently, in 1975 the Treaty of Waitangi Act became law, and then resulted in the formation of the Waitangi Tribunal, a formal, ongoing commission of inquiry to hear grievances against the Crown.¹³

Further demonstrations occurred in 1977 when protesters occupied Bastion Point, in Auckland in January of that year, after the government announced a high-value housing development on former Ngati Whatua reserve land overlooking the Waitemata Harbour. Over time, the once-large reserve, designated 'inalienable', had been reduced in size by compulsory acquisition, leaving the Ngati Whatua ki Orakei tribal group holding less than one hectare. After 506 days the occupiers were evicted by police (in May 1978), by which time Bastion Point had become a household term for land rights protest.¹⁴ Land taken during the Second World War for a military airfield at Raglan was returned to Tainui Awhiro people, but only after a long dispute and protest in April 1976.¹⁵ Instead of being handed back to its former owners when

¹² Durie, p.124.

¹³ Ibid, p.175.

¹⁴ Ibid, p.124-125. The film *Bastion Point – Day 507* was released three years later. Since then, at the recommendation of the Waitangi Tribunal, much of the land has been returned to or vested with Ngati Whatua.

¹⁵ Ranginui J. Walker, 'Maori People since 1950', cited in Geoffrey W. Rice, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1992, p.513.

not required for its designated public purpose, part of the land had been turned into a golf course in 1969. This led Eva Rickard to initiate protest action in the 1970s.¹⁶

Art historian James D. Herbert says that ‘Colonialism operates in the ironic mode, constantly measuring any given stance against that which it is perceived not to be.’¹⁷ Herbert’s discourse suggests that the concept of ‘post-colonialism’ is an irresponsible attempt to deny the reality of ‘colonialism’ in discourse relative to contemporary society. He continues

Accordingly, postcolonialism cannot get past its colonial antecedent simply through the application of a new ironization: To negate the colonial when the colonial is already an uneasy alteration between opposites replicates its dynamic by inverting and thus perpetuating its antithetical terms.¹⁸

In other words, the concept of post-colonialism, in Herbert’s opinion, is erroneous and it is ultimately null and void so long as the descendants of the original colonisers reside in a country with the original occupants.

A brief introduction to the artists

The artists studied in this chapter explore Heke in relation to political power and national identity. Their art works have been utilised in public protests and gallery exhibitions. With a sudden increase of protest and retaliation from Maori (and non-Maori) towards the Crown, artists found a new source of inspiration for their art-

¹⁶ Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, 1987, p.7.

¹⁷ James D. Herbert. ‘Passing between Art History and Postcolonial Theory’ cited in Mark A. Cheetham, Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey (Eds.), *The Subjects of Art History: Historical Objects in Contemporary Perspective*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998, p.215. Herbert’s interpretation of colonialism is applied to the portraits and social scenes composed by the colonial artists of the Pioneering Period. For instance, in George French Angas’ *Hone Heki and Patuone*, Heke is compared to figures from Western traditions, and indeed, Angas painted him from a Eurocentric perspective; Heke is measured by that which he is perceived not to be. He was not European, neither were his cultural traditions.

¹⁸ Ibid.

works.¹⁹ Together with recognition of Heke's role in the Treaty of Waitangi, definition of New Zealand's national identity and a new support for Treaty recognition, artists depicting Heke after the events of 1975 used his representation to convey socio-political statements.

Unified Maori reacted towards the abuse of Treaty obligations by the Crown, and subsequently the New Zealand public became divided: those for and against the rights of Maori under the Treaty of Waitangi in modern New Zealand society, comparable to the rights of Maori and the signing of the Treaty in colonial New Zealand of 1840. From this display of public passion, Christine Drummond created her Heke protest banner, displayed in a Waitangi day protest march. That year art historian Leonard Bell published his *Maori in European Art*, a post-colonial study of Maori representation in European art. The sesquicentennial celebration of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1990 introduced Philip Kelly, and later Lester Hall. Although using Heke as subject matter for 'over twenty-five years',²⁰ Clive Arlidge has more recently contributed significantly to the subject of the Treaty and national identity with his notable Heke painting from 1993.

Christine Drummond (1947-)

A self-proclaimed lesbian-feminist, Drummond currently resides in London where she is a Bachelor of Arts student studying fine arts. According to Drummond, 'I studied Graphic Design at Wellington Polytechnic from 1972 until 1975, and began

¹⁹ Although examples of artists' interpretations the New Zealand political scenario from 1975 are many, art produced as a result of New Zealand's then heated political situation featuring Heke's image represents over 135 years of Maori disempowerment and an incompetent government.

²⁰ Personal communication with Drummond, 9/9/04

doing posters for various political groups whose causes I identified with, gratis of course.' Prior to 1981, she had previously been to all the Waitangi demonstrations in Wellington. 'At the time', according to Drummond, 'I was a single mother of two, and my children's father is Ngapuhi which gave me another interest in Hone Heke.'²¹ Although Pakeha, she has, for her 'whole life' 'been identified by others as mixed race' and as a 'dirty half-caste'.²² By acknowledging her own children who are of Maori decent, she makes with Maori culture and politics. However, she emphasises that most of the feminists were also active with other civil rights issues including Maori.

The intensity of Maori angst against Treaty neglect produced a series of events in New Zealand's social history from 1975 and the early 1980s, specifically the 'hikoi' land march, the formation of the Waitangi Tribunal, the occupation of Bastion Point and Raglan's golf course. However, that infamous event of 1981, the Springbok tour of New Zealand, further promoted the rights of Maori. Drummond's Treaty poster is a symbol of 1980s political action and brings home a way in which Heke's pictorial representation remained relevant during this time.

In an interview with Drummond, she recalled the events of 1981: 'I was involved in some 'left wing' politics from 1973 and became a feminist and active in demonstrations and activities until shortly before I left New Zealand in 1983.'²³ Drummond also recalls her participation in protest demonstrations: 'We were involved in organising demonstrations around many issues, such as abortion rights, attending many different protest marches against the National government policies

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

and acts, and marches including Maori land demonstrations and the massive Springboks tour demos.²⁴

Drummond's *Hone Heke Waitangi Day* protest poster

The first documented image of Heke to be placed in the public arena since Dennis Knight Turner's and Clive Arlidge's 'Heke' paintings from the 1960s, Drummond's *Hone Heke Waitangi Day* protest poster, 1981 (fig. 35), was mass-produced and displayed on the streets of Wellington on the eve of Waitangi day on the fifth of February, 1981. The poster features Heke cutting down the flagstaff with an axe, with the Union Jack collapsing on the right. Bold print on the poster provides details for the Waitangi Day rally: 'the protest march begins at 7 p.m. down Bunny Street, followed by the rally at 8.15 p.m. at the Civic Square in Wellington.'²⁵

Hone Heke Waitangi Day continued Drummond's collection protest art, including feminist art. Therefore, the political themes Drummond engages with are the result of a post-colonial discourse that empowers women, enables a freedom of expression, and redefines roles of women in the work-place and in a male dominated society. In this sense, it should not be surprising that she refers to Heke's anti-establishment (in this case British colonialism) 'story', as part of her own political art.

Drummond's application of Heke's image to her protest poster engages him with post-colonial feminist issues. According to theorist of feminist issues Rosemary Novitz,

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

Involvement in Waitangi Day protests by feminists often arises out of their identification with Maori women and their concern about living in, not just a male-dominated, but also a Pakeha-dominated political and economic system. At the same time, action by many feminists on racism or gay-rights has often been a response to challenges from lesbian, Maori and Pacific Island women.²⁶

Although the concept of 'post-colonial feminism', by definition, 'involves any challenge to dominant patriarchal ideologies by women of the third world',²⁷ the artist relates herself to Maori by reason that she, as a Pakeha New Zealand woman, is subject to the unequal reasoning of Pakeha New Zealand male domination. Furthermore, because she is conscious of New Zealand's colonial identity, she is very much a part of post-colonial feminism.²⁸

Because in the 1970s 'there was a lot of Maori anger and some was aimed at feminists' a collective of female artists developed *Nga Tamahine Marama* in 1976.²⁹ Consisting of Drummond, Nina Dawidowska, Kate Jason-Smith and Donna Cross, *Nga Tamahine Marama* was established after Drummond completed a 'Wellington Polytech Graphic Design course'.³⁰ According to Drummond:

I was asked to do the Waitangi poster by the organizing group as I had done one for them two years before that. The first one was copied from an old damaged one the group had. I can't remember where I got the image for the second, whether I made it up or used a reference, because I did so many posters back then.³¹

However, the poster does appear to be a replay of Arthur David McCormick's *Heke fells the flagstaff at Kororareka*.

²⁵ Refer to *Hone Heke Waitangi Day* protest poster (fig. 35).

²⁶ Rosemary Novitz, 'Women: Weaving an identity' in David Novitz and Bill Willmott (Eds), *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, Wellington, GP Books, 1989, p.64.

²⁷ Young, p.109.

²⁸ Personal communication with Drummond, 15/10/04.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

The poster is bold, blunt and the image of Heke effectively emphasises the message 'PROTEST WAITANGI'. However, of her representation of Heke, the artist is concerned that the poster 'could be seen as racist in its cartoon like simplicity'.³² However, she admits she 'was asked to do a simple shadow figure by the organisers'.³³ Furthermore, she believes that 'It's interesting that there have been so few public representations of Heke when even in the 1950s primary school education system which was totally mono-cultural, Heke was presented to us in a positive, though maybe somewhat comical, way'.³⁴

Philip Kelly³⁵

Born in Masterton, Wellington-based artist³⁶ Philip Kelly attended the Wellington Polytechnic School of Design, graduated with a Diploma in Visual Communications and has worked as a graphic designer, here and overseas. Although the location and career of the artist is currently unknown, he had been an exhibiting artist since 1988 and had worked with an organisation known as the Wellington Media Collective.³⁷ His use of computer-based graphic designs are apparent in two volumes of New Zealand writing journal in which he contributed illustrations to an allocated page in *Sport 5*³⁸ (1990) and the cover of *Sport 6*³⁹ (1991). In 1990 he contributed to the

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ A record of the artist's birth date is currently inaccessible.

³⁶ Although Kelly's current whereabouts are unknown, in 1990 he was based in Wellington.

³⁷ 'Decorative artworks bring past to life' in *The Dominion*, Tuesday, April 27 1993, unpaginated photocopy.

³⁸ Fergus Barrowman (Ed), *Sport*. Wellington, Literature Committee of the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council of New Zealand, vol.5, Spring 1990, p.126.

³⁹ Ibid, cover.

publication *Now See Hear!*⁴⁰ based on the exhibition of the same name. In the publication thirty-eight writers and artists from New Zealand and Australia see how art and language translate culture, from colonial visions in 1827 to computer graphics in 1990. Other exhibitions include 1993's group-show *The Thickness of White*⁴¹ and 1995's *Test Strip*.⁴² In about 1989 he was invited to produce a commissioned time-line for an exhibition that would be an extension of the national activities occurring in 1990, the sesquicentennial year of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The opportunity to display his artwork at such an exhibition, according to the artist, 'fulfilled my personal desire to contribute something of value to the cultural debate surrounding the celebrations.'⁴³

Kelly's Treaty Timeline

Kelly exhibited his installation *Treaty Timeline* (figs. 36-38) in the 1990 exhibition *Mana Tiriti: the art of protest and partnership*, held at the City Art Gallery in Wellington. The artwork, although multimedia, primarily consists of reproduced images and text on paper. It documents key events in Maori/Pakeha relations since the signing of the Declaration of Independence on the twenty-eighth of October in 1835.⁴⁴ The artist writes: 'History seems to me to be as much about omission as inclusion and so the *Treaty Time-line* should not be read as 'a history of events since

⁴⁰ Ian Wedde & Gregory Burke, *NOW SEE HEAR: art, language and translation*, Wellington, Victoria University Press, 1990, unpaginated.

⁴¹ *The Thickness of White*, Wellington, New Work Studio, November 26 – December 24, 1993.

⁴² *Test strip*, Auckland, Floor 1, 454 Karangahape Road, Wednesday 29 March – Saturday April 8, 1995.

⁴³ Haeta, Project Waitangi in association with City Art Gallery, Wellington City Council, *Mana Tiriti: The Art of Protest and Partnership*, Wellington, Daphne Brassell Associates Press, 1991, p.50.

⁴⁴ Phillip Kelly in Haeta, Project Waitangi, *Mana Tiriti*: 1991, p.50.

1840', but rather as some of the many stories and their interpretations that enter into and alter perceptions of history.'⁴⁵

Prior to the sesquicentennial celebrations, in 1988 the Treaty of Waitangi Act was amended, with the Waitangi Tribunal having its powers extended to allow investigation of Crown actions and omissions that could be in breach of Treaty principles dating back to 1840. This recognition elevated the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi to New Zealand society, and was recognised by Kelly in his art work. For the artist, there were unexpected implications 'going back to 1840 opening up the whole history of the terms and modes of colonisation.'⁴⁶ He acknowledges that researching Treaty claims proved an enormous and specialised task, given the paucity of pre-existing historical work and the level of detail required.⁴⁷

Structured on a 150-panel grid, the *Treaty Timeline* features three rows of historical documentation. The upper row is pictorial and relates (wherever possible) directly to the central text. The central row of text panels is a calendar from January to December depicting major events since the 1835 Declaration of Independence. This time-line runs in monthly order as opposed to the linear chronological approach. By using this method of display, Kelly's ambition was to show history in a non-linear, non-hierarchical manner as an attempt to encourage learning and linking past and present events. This method illustrates how past events, for example the Treaty of Waitangi, affect the present. Displayed below the *Treaty Time-line* are selected objects signifying various rights guaranteed to Maori under the Treaty of Waitangi but often not kept. These, along with the earth frame, are an attempt to inject some

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

physicality and ‘life’ into what is predominantly a static gallery display. In 1993 Kelly’s *Treaty Time-line* was displayed in the foyer of the High Court in Wellington, and was said to ‘cover the High Court’s history in Wellington.’⁴⁸

Clive Arlidge (1937-)

Representing ‘fourth world’ peoples, the only Maori artist to be studied in this dissertation, Ngapuhi artist Clive Arlidge currently resides in his home town of Russell, the site of Heke’s actions some 160 years ago.⁴⁹ Consistently depicting Heke in his art-work, Heke, the artist’s tupuna (ancestor), has proved to be the primary source of inspiration for Arlidge.⁵⁰ His formal training began at Kawakawa District High School where he supplemented the general arts classes with private lessons.⁵¹ He subsequently pursued his interest in art at Auckland Teachers College in 1955-56, and was active in the optional art courses the College offered. After leaving the College in 1956, he was one of several notable Maori artists who trained under the art educationalist, Gordon Tovey.⁵² In 1958 he attended Dunedin Teachers College for Art for an Art Advisors course and subsequently worked for the Advisory Service of the Department of Education. Since 1973 he had been employed

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Unknown author, ‘Decorative artworks bring past to life’ in *The Dominion*, Tuesday April 27 1993, unpaginated copy.

⁴⁹ Personal communication with Arlidge. 15/10/04.

⁵⁰ Dunedin College of Education *Heke Te Toa: Clive Arlidge reflects with Graham Price*, Audio Visual Centre, Dunedin, Dunedin College of Education, 1995.

⁵¹ Paratene Matchitt & Sandy Adsett. *Kohia Ko Taikaika Anake*. National Art Gallery December 1 1990 – March 17 1991, Wellington, The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Te Waka Toi, Nga Puna Waihangā, 1993, p.21.

⁵² Along with Clive Arlidge, other Maori artists who trained under Gordon Tovey (known as ‘the Tovey Generation’), include Ralph Hotere, Selwyn Muru, Arnold Wilson, Paratene Matchitt, Cath Brown, John Bevan Ford, Sandy Adsett and Fred Graham.

as a lecturer in Art and Maori at the Dunedin College of Education, until his retirement.⁵³

Arlidge's *Heke Te Toa* series and *Heke Meets Black Jack*

In an interview with Arlidge, he explained two reasons why he continues to apply Heke to his art-works: one, Heke is his tupuna; and two, he was responsible for the state of Maori tanga (Maori society).⁵⁴ Although he has painted Heke for 'over twenty-five years', Arlidge has not kept a record of his works, most of which are in private collections 'all over the world'.⁵⁵ Despite the absence of information regarding the whereabouts of these 'Heke' art-works, Arlidge's dedication to his tupuna is exemplified by his *Heke Te Toa* series of 1990 (fig. 39), and *Heke Meets Black Jack* of 1993 (fig. 40).

Arlidge's *Heke Te Toa I*, *Heke Te Toa II* and *Heke Te Toa III* were included in the 1990 exhibition *Kohia Ko Taikaka*, a show which was heralded at the time as 'New Zealand's largest exhibition of contemporary Maori art'.⁵⁶ 'According to Sandy Adsett and Cliff Whiting, curators of *Kohia Ko Taikaka Anake*, 'Contemporary Maori artists, through their bicultural heritage, are in a position to forge a fusion of cultural characteristics through and in their work.'⁵⁷ By reinforcing such ideals, the *Heke Te Toa* series emphasised the significance of New Zealand's bicultural foundations in 1990 and reminded those who attended the exhibition of the relevance of Heke's actions 150 years earlier. Arlidge's 'Heke' art-works have

⁵³ Matchitt & Adsett, *Kohia Ko Taikaka Anake*, 1993, p.21.

⁵⁴ Personal communication with Arlidge, 15/10/04.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Matchitt & Adsett, p.21.

assumed the qualities of New Zealand contemporary art trends. By combining an imperative figure to New Zealand history with artistic techniques influenced from Europe and America, Arlidge's art appeals to both Maori and Pakeha New Zealanders.

Arlidge's modern application in his depiction of Heke is somewhat comparable to Dennis Knight-Turner's 'Heke' paintings. Although he says that he has 'never heard of Dennis Knight-Turner',⁵⁸ the appreciation Knight-Turner had for traditional *toi Maori* (Maori creativity), for modern techniques in European and American art, and their concern for Maori society, establishes Knight-Turner's indirect influence with Arlidge's painting techniques. The connection between Knight-Turner and Arlidge enables the comparison of Knight-Turner's *Heke* and *Heke 6* and Arlidge's *Heke meets Black Jack*.

In *Hone Heke meets Black Jack*, first exhibited at the *Te Aitinga* exhibition held at the Waitangi Resort Hotel in 1993, Arlidge draws a comparison between Heke and the legend of the infamous pirate 'Black Jack.' Arlidge also contextualises him in the scenario of the popular card game 'Black Jack',⁵⁹ of which the basic premise is to have a 'hand value' that is closer to twenty-one than that of the dealer, without going over twenty-one. In both scenarios, it is Hobson and the British Crown portrayed as dealer and trader, and Heke as the punter. The painting depicts Heke intensely poking his tongue out at the viewer, thus establishing the scenario of a fierce confrontation.

⁵⁷ Ibid, p.12.

⁵⁸ Personal communication with Arlidge, 15/10/04.

By comparing Heke and the Treaty to 'Black Jack', Arlidge emphasises the risk involved for both parties. In the *Heke meets Black Jack*, Heke assumes the role of the 'player', Governor William Hobson and the British Crown assumes the role of the 'dealer', and the Treaty of Waitangi is symbolised by the game 'Black Jack'. Arlidge has attempted to develop New Zealand's understanding of its bicultural origins by depicting Heke in his art works. Aware of the continuing friction between Maori and Pakeha, *Heke meets Black Jack* represents the relevance of New Zealand's colonial history in contemporary New Zealand society. Therefore, by applying Heke to 'Black Jack, the legendary pirate and popular card game, the artist reminds the audience that the events surrounding the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi involved brigands and jeopardy.

Lester Hall (1956-)

Bay of Islands-based self-taught artist Lester Hall has, in his own words, 'crashed about in the world of paint, pencil and hot glue'⁶⁰ all of his life. In his artworks, Hall places less emphasis on technique, while emphasising subject-matter. Depicting a variety of subject-matter in his artwork, including his dedication to illustrating fish,⁶¹ Hall has painted several compositions in response to race relations in New Zealand. He has 'completed many works of 'Maori-European' contact'⁶² including two paintings of Heke.

⁵⁹ Arlidge's reference to playing cards in *Heke Meets Black Jack* continues the Maori religio-political tradition of appropriating European playing card motifs (hearts, spades, clubs and diamonds) and applying them to flags, whare and other forms of toi Maori (Maori creativity).

⁶⁰ Lester Hall. Internet source, unpaginated. See www.lesterhall.com/Artist.html Date accessed: 20/8/04.

⁶¹ The primary focus of Hall's website are his illustrations of fish. Hall. Internet source, unpaginated. See www.lesterhall.com Date accessed: 20/8/04.

⁶² Personal communication with Hall, 5/9/04.

Hall's Heke paintings

In 1998 Hall painted several compositions on 'diary pages' of famous Maori who had famously reacted to the Crown's abuse of vital issues such as Treaty obligations and land rights. Although Heke was the first to appear on many of these diary page paintings composed on 'masi',⁶³ another significant Maori figure was the initiator of the Maori Women's Welfare League and leader of the 1975 hikoi, Dame Whina Cooper,⁶⁴ as depicted in *Dame Whina Cooper*, about 1998 (fig. 41). His two Heke paintings entitled *Pssst, Hone Heke was a tattooed savage, pass it on!*, about 1998 (fig. 42) and *Fighter Ace*, about 1998 (fig. 43) are currently on display in the Australian exhibition *Outlawed!*.

The masi paintings are a bi-cultural statement centred on accepting the Pacific as the artist's 'region'. Although the date printed on *Pssst, Hone Heke was a tattooed savage, pass it on!*, reads '31 October', it holds no personal significance to the artist except that it was the the page he was 'doodling' on in his diary when, according to the artist, 'I was on the phone. At the end of the call, the face had just appeared. As I reached a conscious connection with the doodle I realised I had drawn an archetypal "Maori" and I immediately saw him as Heke.'⁶⁵ Upon completing the Heke 'doodle', Hall recalled childhood memories of his friends and family's opinions of Heke, who identified the Ngapuhi chief as 'naughty', and as a 'tattooed

⁶³ 'Masi' is a Fijian term used to describe the paper mulberry tree, which was brought to the Pacific during voyages of migration. Its bark is used to make cloth, also called masi, and is dyed and decorated with traditional patterns. It is noted that the inhabitants of the Lau Islands are renowned for their masi paintings. Wikipedia. Internet source. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paper_Mulberry Date accessed: 8/6/05

⁶⁴ Dame Whina Cooper has become an icon of Maori empowerment. Refer to the introduction of this chapter.

⁶⁵ Personal communication with Hall, 5/9/04.

savage'.⁶⁶ The term 'whitie' in this painting refers to the passing on of a racial stereo-type by Pakeha New Zealanders, although according to the artist, these racial stereotype remarks 'are not done in public.'⁶⁷ However, contrary to Hall's opinion, public discrimination of Maori does occur. This is exemplified by the racial remarks that have emerged in the public forum as a result of the formation of the Maori party and attention given to the 'Seabed and Foreshore bill.'

Hall kept the date in the first painting even though it held no significance for Heke as it was significant to his 'awakening to a line of thought about art and depicting things Maori in my art.'⁶⁸ The date is crossed out in the painting and changed to a date of the cutting of the flagstaff. The other writings around the work are quotes from the book *Te Riri Pakeha*. Hall has emphasised Simpson's accounts of indecencies performed by Maori: 'They describe Heke getting tired of 'Whites' and once one of his wives was taken he reacted. They speak of bums being bared to white women.'⁶⁹ This work is a 'direct and honest comment' of Hall's 'White subconscious.'⁷⁰ The painting is in direct comment also to the argument of 'appropriation' by Europeans of Maori culture, for instance, the diary pages are painted from the perspective of a ships painter, from the perspective of an observer. Curiously, Hall believes he has 'no need of full research or a desire to be right about a subject but just to comment into a debate.'⁷¹

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Author Tony Simpson refers to 'white women' being 'made the subject of indecent exposure'. Simpson. *Te Riri Pakeha: The White Man's Anger*, Martinborough (New Zealand), Alister Taylor, 1979, p.72.

⁷⁰ Personal communication with Hall, 5/9/04.

⁷¹ Ibid.

In *Pssst, Hone Heke was a tattooed savage, pass it on!* Heke represents all Maori: from a Eurocentric perspective, he, like all Maori of the settler period, is ‘different, tattooed, unreal, not completely understood, savage, and unsafe, however, he does have a humour and worth of his own.’⁷² The flagpole does not appear in this artist’s work, which focuses entirely on Heke as a person and a national icon. The artist admits that ‘Heke is a household name and carries the face of all Maori and all fears and all racism associated with ignorance of others.’⁷³ According to Hall, ‘this painting is also very important to me because it gave me a platform and a voice for my ideas and thoughts on which I will stand and keep my ground asking no person, Maori or any other for permission to do that.’⁷⁴

Heke’s cartoon-like representation in *Fighter Ace* is based on the idea that he is a comic book hero. Hall came to this conclusion because, like an action hero or super hero, Heke was a person ‘who played where the bullets were.’⁷⁵ Hall notes that Heke was and still is one of our nation’s great ‘characters.’ He ranked high in social standing and so in another war, according to Hall, ‘he might have been in the skies rather than the trenches.’⁷⁶ The emblem on the fighter plane is that of ‘The Moa Air Command’, a play on the flightless bird but also the possibly extinct nature of Maori sovereignty’ writes Hall.⁷⁷ The writing in the art work states: ‘The cockpit in which Hone Heke sat filled with the smell of burning cordite.....’⁷⁸ This illustrates the

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid. ‘Cordite’ is a smokeless propellant explosive made by combining two high explosives: nitrocellulose and nitroglycerin. Since the early twentieth century, it has been commonly used in firearms, and has also

artist's realisation that Heke was a risk-taker who was involved with front-line warfare.

By referencing Tony Simpson's 1979 publication *Te Riri Pakeha: The White Man's Anger*, Hall's 'loose idea' for his *Heke* paintings of 1998 is that 'not all New Zealanders are tertiary educated.'⁷⁹ Combining references from Simpson's book with his personal philosophy of New Zealand history and politics into his paintings, the artist has attempted to demonstrate that New Zealand history is 'just word of mouth bigotry and rot unless it is filled in with snippets from the "today in history" lines of the Herald etc.'⁸⁰ More specifically, the artist, in his *Heke* paintings, has attempted to define the differences between actual historical fact and individual interpretation of fact.

The origins of Hall's research into New Zealand history and his endeavour to acquire further information about Heke was, according to the artist, limited to 'the first book I saw in the ground floor isles [sic] of the local library.'⁸¹ He purposely wanted to avoid satisfaction with his research and did not endeavour to find historical truth, as the artist defines as 'just other peoples rambling's [sic] in books....'⁸² Hall boldly asserts: 'I reserve the right to make comment on my view of my country and its history without first having to be filtered through the thoughts of others....'⁸³ His anti-academic views and interest in New Zealand's bicultural history

been used in 'solid fuel rockets'. Refer to Wikipedia. Internet source. See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cordite>. Date accessed: 3/8/04

⁷⁹ Personal communication with Hall, 5/9/04.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

have been interpreted into *Pssst, Hone Heke was a tattooed savage, pass it on!* and *Fighter Ace*. Of *Pssst, Hone Heke was a tattooed savage, pass it on!*, Hall says:

That painting says we are all racist... and we are all wrong... and that is okay... when in context of the series it says that is okay once we check our fear and control our actions based on our morals and self trust. It is also stating unequivocally that I as a white person do not have to understand Maori tattoo or even portray that correctly to make my heart felt comment and expect the right to do so might be respected.⁸⁴

Hall asserts his fundamental rights as a Pakeha New Zealander. He acknowledges the significance of Heke in the formation of New Zealand, and identifies his place in contemporary New Zealand society. However, because Hall's opinion of Pakeha/Maori relationships is restricted to selected readings, namely information obtained from Tony Simpson's *Te Riri Pakeha: The White Man's Anger*, it is apparent that his understanding of 'Pakeha New Zealander' is not justified by diverse information.

In *Te Riri Pakeha: The White Man's Anger*, Simpson's objective was not to reinterpret New Zealand's bicultural history. In order to contribute new information about New Zealand history, it is his attempt to explain Pakeha actions towards Maori while simultaneously attempting to understand Maori. By attempting to understand Pakeha actions towards Maori, and attempting to understand Maori, he, like most who recognise themselves as Pakeha New Zealanders, struggles to define his Pakeha identity. Although one may recognise himself or herself as a New Zealander, it seems to me that if defining Pakeha identity is problematic then surely the defining of one's New Zealand identity is unresolved. Simpson concludes by stating: 'From the beginning *pakeha* New Zealand has been intolerant. We have seized their [Maori] land classified as 'probably of no further use'. And, just incidentally along

the way, we have all but destroyed Maori identity.’⁸⁵ Simpson’s conclusion is embraced by Hall who interprets it into his art work and understanding of New Zealand history and current social condition.

Hall’s approach to depicting Heke in his art work suggests that he remains embittered towards race relations in New Zealand and dwells on the treatment of Maori by Pakeha and Pakeha by Maori.

Rather than spend ourselves in indignation we should try to appreciate the irony of the situation. The mythology that prevailed in this case has now been shown to be utterly without foundation; it has no *turangawaewae*. Had we a sense of humility we might ask the Maori people to share with us the secret of survival. Should we do so it may be that they will laugh and shut the door, but it is possible instead that they will teach us the meaning of the old proverb, *mauri tu, mauri ora* – an active spirit is a spirit of life.⁸⁶

Hall’s work ultimately symbolises Heke as an extreme form of communication (or miscommunication) between Maori and Pakeha. His work reminds the viewer that New Zealand’s approach to Maori/Pakeha relations has changed very little since Heke’s day,

Chapter Summary

National recognition of the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi to Maori and New Zealand society emerged from the hikoi march in 1975, which triggered a series of political events and subsequent response from members of the public, including the creation of government institutes and public protests. These significant national

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Simpson, p.241.

⁸⁶ Ibid, p.242.

events were examined by the artists in a post-colonial context and then subsequently applied to their art-works featuring Heke.

Christine Drummond's 1981 *Hone Heke Waitangi day* protest poster was produced as result of the artist's social conscience, and conveys her acknowledgement of Heke's political beliefs 140 years after the occurrences of his rebellion in 1844. By juxtaposing Heke with notable New Zealanders associated with the Treaty of Waitangi, Philip Kelly's *Treaty Time-line* contributes to an awareness of the significance of the Treaty in New Zealand's history. Living in the Bay of Islands, Hall is surrounded by the material necessary to create such commentaries on Heke and what he stands for. It is apparent that Hall's views do not represent those of every Pakeha New Zealander. However, his paintings add a vital component to Heke's contribution to New Zealand's national identity. Furthermore, his 'Heke' paintings, exhibited alongside other artist's work in the Australian *Outlawed!* exhibition, constitute Heke as a national representative for New Zealand. Through the artworks produced by Drummond, Arlidge, Kelly and Hall, Heke has appeared as a symbol of social conscience and a reminder of a powerful chapter of New Zealand's history.

Chapter Four

Heke Outlawed! Pictorial representations of Heke in the Australian exhibition 'Outlawed! Rebels, Revolutionaries and Bushrangers'.

The outlaw hero is a particular and well-defined type of folk hero who inhabits the grey area between criminality and political or pre-political protest. His tradition can be traced as a cultural constant that persist over time, through space, and is available to be called into use whenever circumstances are appropriate.¹

Graham Seal

Recognised by most New Zealanders as a 'rebel' and attaining iconic status in New Zealand history, Heke was selected to represent New Zealand in the 2003 to 2004² Australian exhibition *Outlawed! Rebels, Revolutionaries and Bushrangers*. By examining selected international outlaw heroes, the exhibition compared the stories and circumstances of the outlawed figures and emphasised and compared aspects of their national social histories. As the above quotation also attests 'Investigating outlaw heroes', according to Graham Seal, a leading international authority on outlaw traditions, 'allows us to understand something of the political, economic and social circumstances of a time and place, to appreciate the process of mythmaking that produce such figures from the interaction.'³ The selected historical and legendary figures featured in *Outlawed!* represent a prevailing tradition of the 'outlawed hero' in global culture. Although all of the featured outlawed legends

¹ Graham Seal, *The Outlaw Legend: A Cultural Tradition in Britain, America and Australia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p.2.

² *Outlawed!* was originally scheduled to close at the Queensland Museum in 2005. This will be addressed later in this chapter.

³ Graham Seal, 'Introduction to Outlawed!' in Therese Weber, (Ed.), *Outlawed! Rebels, Revolutionaries and Bushrangers*, Canberra, National Museum of Australia, 2003, pp.17-18.

share confrontation with authority⁴ as the common theme in the exhibition, Heke's circumstances do not confine him to the stereotype of an outlaw. He, in the words of Seal, inhabits 'the grey area between criminality and political or pre-political protest'.⁵ Complying with the laws of Ngapuhi, he was never outlawed by authorities of his iwi, such as rangatira (chief), ariki (high chief), or tohunga (priest). Heke was a respected chief and many Maori and some non-Maori saw his activities as justified given the fact that another alternative Maori law prevailed in his world-view.⁶ However, his refusal to concede to British rule made him a rebel in the eyes of the colonial settlers, and he was thus identified as an outlaw.

Heke's presence in the exhibition was achieved with the co-operation of several notable people including curator of the exhibition, Jo Duke, Ngapuhi representative and key advisor, Jo Diamond, Heke biographer, Paul Moon, and Heke descendant, kaitiaka (guardian), and advisor David Rankin. The task of those involved with Heke's appearance in the exhibition was to accurately portray his significance in New Zealand's history and to emphasise his enduring legacy in the field of New Zealand nationalism. Demonstrating New Zealand's changing perception towards Heke, the exhibition included examples of taonga associated with the Ngapuhi chief dating from 1840 to 1998. Developing the mythical element of Heke's status, this national perception of Heke transformed him from a real man to legendary figure.

⁴ Therese Weber (Ed.), *Outlawed! Rebels, Revolutionaries and Bushrangers*, Canberra, National Museum of Australia, 2003, unpaginated.

⁵ Seal, *The Outlaw Legend*, 1996, p.2.

⁶ Jo Diamond, *Rere atu, rere mai: the Trans-Tasman negotiation of Hone Heke Pokai*, Centre for Cross-Cultural Research, Australian National University, 2002. Internet source, unpaginated. See http://www.anu.edu.au/culture/activities/sixpack/ethno_papers/jo_diamond.htm Date accessed: 22/3/05

In Canberra, September 2003, Heke was introduced to the exhibition by means of a powhiri (formal welcoming ceremony).⁷ Conveying Heke's wairua (spirit), when the taonga relating to Heke arrived in Canberra for *Outlawed!* at this time, according to Jo Diamond, 'it was automatically accepted amongst local Maori residents that Heke himself had arrived.'⁸ The outcome of extensive negotiations that contributed to *Outlawed!* represented multiple and contested interpretations of Heke's character and objects associated with his life history, including the iconic status he currently holds some 155 years after his death.⁹ His iconic status, now thoroughly embedded in New Zealand's national identity, has assumed a mythical persona which enabled him to be compared with other legends in the *Outlawed!* exhibition.

This chapter will examine exhibited images of Heke in the contexts of trans-Tasman and international perspectives, it will identify the roles of the various institutes displaying Heke, and finally, this chapter will make clear *Outlawed!*'s contribution to Heke's legacy. It will compare him with other legends of the *Outlawed!* exhibition, and examine institutional roles and identify how *Outlawed!* has assisted in continuing his legacy. By studying Heke in these different contexts, the conclusion will be drawn that although *Outlawed!* has contributed to sustaining Heke as a romanticised figure from colonial New Zealand even today, Heke's wairua (spirit) and legacy is heavily involved with New Zealand's national identity.

⁷ Diamond, *Revaluing raranga*, 2003, p.261.

⁸ Ibid.

Exhibited pictorial representations of Heke: a brief history

As discussed earlier, initially on good terms with representatives of the British Crown, Heke's fragile relationship with them turned disagreeable. Welcoming British trade, settlers, and the presence of the British Crown, he signed the Treaty of Waitangi as an agreement of partnership between two peoples in one land. However, realising the intentions of the British Crown and that the Treaty was not being honoured, he felled the flagpole bearing the British ensign on three occasions and attacked and engaged in battle with British soldiers. His various offenses and constant protesting against the British Crown made him an outlaw as recognised by the colonial administration. Although he is one of many notable New Zealanders to be recognised as an 'outlaw' in New Zealand history, his legendary actions have prompted him to legendary and iconic status in New Zealand culture. His tradition can be traced as a cultural constant that persists over time, through space, and is available to be called into use whenever circumstances are appropriate.¹⁰

Commencing with Joseph Jenner Merrett's display of *Warrior Chieftains of New Zealand* in Auckland, Port Jackson and England, pictorial representations of Heke have been the focus of, and have appeared in, several important exhibitions.¹¹ His image was the focus of Dennis Knight Turner's *The Historic Defence of the Maori at Kororareka* exhibition in 1962. Appearing in Philip Kelly's *Treaty Time Line*, Heke was included in *Mana Tiriti: the art of protest and partnership*, exhibited at Wellington City Art Gallery in 1990. That year the *Encounter with Eden 1770 –*

⁹ Ibid, p.267.

¹⁰ Seal, *The Outlaw Legend*, 1996, p.2.

¹¹ Refer to Chapter One for further details about Heke's image displayed at Auckland, Port Jackson and England c.1846.

1870 exhibition toured five New Zealand cities. Featuring selected paintings and drawings from the National Library of Australia's Rex Nan Kivell Collection, the exhibition centred 'on the period around 1840',¹² *Encounter with Eden* included an unknown artist's 1856 *Johnny Heki*.¹³ Clive Arlidge's *Heke Te Toa series* of 1990, exhibited at Gray's Studio in Dunedin, consisted of twenty-five art-works thematic of Heke. Then, in 1993, Arlidge's fierce depiction of Heke in *Heke meets Black Jack* appeared in *Te Aitinga*, an exhibition at Waitangi Resort Hotel (Bay of Islands).

Heke's pictorial representations continue to be included in museum exhibitions. From February, 2002 to July 2003, the exhibition *Conflict and reconciliation: Hone Heke Pokai* was held at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongowera. This exhibition was a component of the larger permanent exhibition *Signs of a Nation*, which explored the Treaty of Waitangi and associated issues of nationhood.¹⁴ Although it featured artefacts and taonga associated with Heke (such as flagstaff fragments and a tiki), it did not display any pictorial representations of the Ngapuhi chief.¹⁵ The indirect relationship between the *Conflict and reconciliation* and *Outlawed!* exhibitions will be discussed later in this chapter. *He Tirohanga ki Muri: A View of the Past - Maori Treasures from the Hocken Collection* (exhibited from 2003 to 2004 at the University of Otago's Hocken Library) featured William Nicholas' 1846 lithograph of Joseph Jenner Merrett's *The Warrior Chieftains of New Zealand*.

¹² Peter Scott, 'Introduction' in Marian Minson, *Encounters with Eden: New Zealand 1770 –1870*, Wellington, National Library of New Zealand/ Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, 1990, p.5.

¹³ Refer to the Joseph Jenner Merrett section in Chapter One.

¹⁴ Dougal Austin, curator: matauranga Maori, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongowera, personal correspondence, 26/5/04.

¹⁵ Austin, personal correspondence, 26/5/04.

Most recently Heke's pictures have been exhibited in *Outlawed!*, reviving his international status along with other notable historic outlaws such as Billy the Kid, Ned Kelly, Pancho Villa, Robin Hood and Phoolan Devi. By examining these 'outlawed' individuals from a global perspective, the exhibition investigates the stories of bushrangers, rebels and revolutionaries from nine countries who have subsequently been transformed into key social figures of national significance.

The exhibition was the result of extensive research of two and half years undertaken by the National Museum within Australia and overseas. During that time, researchers visited China, Japan, the United States, Mexico and New Zealand in a quest to discover the fact behind the fiction, and to see how globally-known outlaws are perceived in their home countries.

Trans-Tasman and international perspectives of Heke

Not only was Heke selected to represent New Zealand's foremost figure of colonial resistance in an exhibition thematic of rebels, revolutionaries and bush rangers, the inclusion of his pictorial representations in the *Outlawed!* exhibition continued the tradition of the Ngapuhi chief's trans-Tasman involvement. Heke's segment in the exhibition featured Joseph Jenner Merrett's *Warrior Chieftains of New Zealand* (the lithographic reproduction by William Nicholas), J. A. Gilfillan's *Hone Heke*, William Duke's *The Celebrated Chief Hone or John Heke*, the anonymous artist's *Johnny Heke*, Arthur David McCormick's *Heke Fells the Flagstaff at Kororareka*, Leonard Cornwell Mitchell's *Reconstruction of the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi*, Dennis Knight-Turner's *Hone Heke* and Lester Hall's *Fighter Ace* and

Psst Hone Heke Was a Tattooed Savage. The exhibition concludes with Alfred Sharpe's (1836-1908) 1885 watercolour entitled *Burial Place of Hone Heke, Bay of Islands* (fig. 45).¹⁶

Heke's life and legacy has extended beyond the realms of New Zealand history. The origins of Heke's images have asserted a trans-Tasman connection dating back to the display of Joseph Jenner Merrett's portraits of Heke in Port Jackson and George French Angas' published illustration of Heke in his book *The New Zealanders Illustrated*. As previously mentioned, by 1840 Heke had a reputation in Britain and its colonies. However, with the display of his image in galleries and subsequent reproductions in journals, Heke has become more than a legend or a 'faceless' story. Because he became both a threat to Imperial forces and an exemplar for indigenous peoples, his images became marketable and were therefore displayed in Australia, England and various parts of the world.

The National Museum of Australia (henceforth referred to as the N.M.A.) is one of many Australian government-run institutions that make occasional and temporary contact with Maori cultural representations.¹⁷ In April 2000, Diamond noticed an advertisement from Senior Curator Dr. Ann McGrath at the N.M.A. which appeared by email in the Centre for Cross Cultural Centre Research at the Australian National University.¹⁸ The advertisement asked for 'New Zealand' assistance with a planned exhibition that proposed an international perspective of historical characters such as the famous (or infamous depending on viewpoint)

¹⁶ This painting is further discussed in the section of this chapter entitled 'Heke's continuing legacy in *Outlawed!*'.

¹⁷ Diamond, *Revaluing raranga*, 2003, p.252.

¹⁸ Ibid, pp.252-253.

Australian outlaw Ned Kelly.¹⁹ The co-operation between the N.M.A. and family and followers of Heke was the genesis of his presence in the exhibition and the subsequent revival in interest of his contribution to New Zealand's history.

In the process of having Heke displayed in the *Outlawed!* exhibition, consultancy challenges between Heke representatives and N.M.A. officials proved to be an obstacle for the success of Heke's presentation.²⁰ The main theme of the exhibition developed over two years. In its early stages the curators planned to examine in detail the outlaw, bandits or bushranger image that had evolved thanks to Ned Kelly and other notable characters in Australia's history. It also sought to represent similar figures from overseas throughout recorded history, responsible for the emergence of comparable myths and popular cultural images that eventually became 'larger than life'. Examples of such 'mythology' are the English legendary figure Robin Hood and the Native American Sitting Bull.²¹

Diamond foresaw several challenges when considering whether or not to become involved in the exhibition. Heke's presence in the exhibition might not be relevant due to the fact that 'bandit and bushrangers' are not part of the academic or popular perception of national history or culture in Aotearoa/New Zealand.²² A significant reason for this was that Maori people may take particular umbrage if they suspect a hint or more of disrespect for ancestors or that much of this objection is politically driven as it seeks protection and respect for our cultural heritage.²³ But

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid, pp.253-254.

²¹ Ibid, p.253. It is noted that the legendary Native American chief Sitting Bull's representation in *Outlawed!* never eventuated. According to Jo Diamond, this was due to territorial and loan issues. Information obtained from Jo Diamond. Personal communication, 22/1/06.

²² Ibid.

²³ Diamond, *Revaluing raranga*, 2003, p.253.

this reaction, I would argue, owes more to a political correctness than a sustained critical engagement and informed political action. Furthermore, some Maori and Pakeha people in Aotearoa New Zealand and elsewhere may deny similarities between Maori ancestors and outlaw figures such as Ned Kelly.²⁴ Note well, however, that some of his descendants are happy to consider him as a ‘bandit’.²⁵

The N.M.A would need to be particularly aware of cultural sensitivities such as the Maori attitude toward protection of the good name of their ancestors.²⁶ Diamond was also aware that as a researcher she could not ‘cross certain tribal boundaries without causing strife for the museum and herself.’²⁷ In her own words,

...as a Ngapuhi woman I needed to be careful about who I chose to represent Aotearoa New Zealand and the best person and/or people to ask for permission and support. For these reasons there was only one Ngapuhi tupuna [ancestor] who I would have any chance of proposing as a character for the exhibition’s theme: Heke.²⁸

Although Diamond considered several factors in order to select a representative for New Zealand, it was clear that Heke’s acts of defiance and national recognition, unlike any other New Zealand ‘outlaw’, qualified him to be selected for the exhibition.

Relating Heke to the ‘heroes’ of *Outlawed!*

The *Outlawed!* exhibition displayed pictorial representations, memorabilia, relics, artifacts and taonga associated with ‘outlawed’ heroes from America, Italy, Japan,

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Jo Diamond, ‘Rere atu, rere mai. Internet source, unpaginated. See http://www.anu.edu.au/culture/activities/sixpack/ethno_papers/jo_diamond.htm Date accessed: 22/3/05.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid, p.254.

²⁸ Ibid.

India, Mexico, Australia and New Zealand. The *Outlawed!* exhibition catalogue (fig. 46), featuring William Duke's portrait *The Celebrated Chief Hone or John Heke* on the cover, presents Heke with the international ensemble of outlawed heroes of national and international standing, varying from the 'mythical' to the 'real'.

The 'heroes', as they are now commonly referred to, exemplify historic figures that rebelled against corrupt and/or ignorant authorities and administrative institutions that did not satisfy the essential needs of the people. Each outlawed person represented in the exhibition comes from differing backgrounds, and, although all are outlawed, their stories and circumstances differ considerably. The outlawed figures and the people they represented were victims of these authorities and administrative institutions, and were forced to endure such callous actions as the infliction of poverty, land alienation, and racial extermination. Although the majority of the figures represented in the exhibition are from the nineteenth century, all represent various aspects of an outlawed hero.

Both the myth and reality of Heke identified in *Outlawed!* contribute to his enduring legacy as New Zealand's original political activist. The exhibition contributed to Heke's mythical status by associating him with the romantic notion of the 'outlawed hero'. Heke was also presented as real person who was dedicated to the cause of protecting the future interests of Maori.

In *Outlawed!*, Heke was juxtaposed with mythical legends such as the Chinese band of outlaws known as 'the outlaws of the marsh',²⁹ the English outlaw Robin Hood,³⁰ and sixteenth century Japanese outlaw Ishikawa Goemon.³¹ In

²⁹ Graham Seal, 'The outlaws of the marsh' in *Outlawed!*, 2003, p.21.

³⁰ Tania Colwell, 'Robin Hood' in *Outlawed!*, 2003, p.25.

contrast, the reality of Heke was related to Australia's Indigenous rebels Walyer and Musquito. However, unlike the New Zealand public's awareness of Heke, Walyer and Musquito receive little attention from the Australian public. Heke's status is compared to that of the romanticised colonial Australian outlaw Ned Kelly. They have both become national icons and developed legendary statuses within New Zealand and Australia.

The nineteenth century American 'Wild West' outlaws Jesse James, Belle Starr, and Billy the Kid represented a prevailing tradition of glorifying those who were justifiably outlawed. Not unlike Heke, such outlawed heroes have developed a significant status within popular culture. Twentieth century outlaws have also contributed to the exhibition. In similar fashion to Sicilian bandit Salvatore Giuliano and his band of outlaws,³² and the 'Queen of the Bandits', Phoolan Devi,³³ Heke valued the well-being of his people and challenged the laws and regulations of governing 'authorities'. Another twentieth century outlawed hero, and one of the most charismatic and controversial figures in contemporary Mexican history was the revolutionary leader Pancho Villa.³⁴ Arguably the outlaw whose cause was most comparable to Heke, Villa fought against American forces for the national independence of Mexico. Likewise, Heke fought for an independent Maori sovereignty.

Although represented as an 'outlaw' in the *Outlawed!* exhibition, Moon writes that Heke 'argued that it was only European law he was breaking, and that as

³¹ Jo Duke, 'Ishikawa Goemon' in Therese Weber (Ed.), *Outlawed!*, 2003, p.31.

³² Jo Duke, 'Salvatore Giuliano' in *Outlawed!*, 2003, pp.81, 83.

³³ Stephen Foster, 'Phoolan Devi' in *Outlawed!*, 2003, p.85.

³⁴ Cinnamon van Reyk, 'Pancho Villa' in *Outlawed!*, 2003, p. 77.

a Maori, he was not covered by such a law.’³⁵ However, from a Eurocentric perspective, he, like many other Maori, did not recognise British law and governance, and so he was ‘outside’ the rules and regulations of the Crown, thus he was an ‘outlaw’. Jesse James, Billy the Kid, Belle Starr, Ned Kelly and Robin Hood were all ‘outside’ the law of their respective administrations. Somewhat in contrast, Heke, Musqito, Walyer, Pancho Villa were outlawed by foreign administrative forces. Heke, Musqito and Walyer were outlawed by British forces, while Pancho Villa was outlawed by American militia in Mexico. Heke was never outside the traditional Maori law.

Heke, like all of the ‘outlaws’ in the exhibition, rebelled against an establishment that oppressed people based on terms of class, culture and race. According to Diamond, ‘Heke was a respected chief and many Maori and some non-Maori saw his activities as justified given the fact that another alternative Maori law prevailed in his world-view.’³⁶ Remarkably, the British were outlaws if it is acknowledged that the ‘alternative Maori law’ was not accepted or practiced by followers of the British Crown. Because Heke, in conjunction with his Christian education, abided with traditional Maori law practices and tikanga Maori, his presence in the *Outlawed!* exhibition is problematic.

So then, if the traditional Maori interpretation or even a Maori society, that had long since been introduced to European custom and consequently European law, sustained its traditional belief system, the question ‘does Heke qualify to be an outlaw in the exhibition?’ could be asked. In other words, was he outside European

³⁵ Moon, ‘Hone Heke’ in *Outlawed!*, p.45.

law, but not Maori law? Although he was an outlaw by European definition, he was also an indigenous outlaw. Heke was unlike colonial outlaws such as Ned Kelly, Billy the Kid, Jesse James and Belle Starr and, unlike the preceding outlaws, was ultimately protecting the interests of his people and not himself. However, according to Moon, 'Heke undertook pecuniary raids on homesteads, held people up for money and at one juncture a whole colonial town to ransom. A reward was placed on his head.'³⁷ Therefore he 'both qualifies and fails to qualify as a bandit... and a bushranger.'³⁸ 'Much of his activity can be interpreted as banditry and bushranger-like. If the British law of the time is to be respected and upheld then he qualifies as an outlaw.'³⁹

By displaying Heke, it is apparent that there are several topics that are both beneficial and detrimental to his representation in the exhibition. For instance, whilst Heke's appearance assists in the promotion of New Zealand's colonial history and bicultural foundations, the interpretation of Heke in New Zealand's history and his significance to the Treaty of Waitangi and Maori society by visitors to *Outlawed!* might be disregarded, given that notable aspects of his story overwhelm his full contribution to New Zealand nationalism. Heke's popular legend is identified by Moon, who writes that 'Even in the present day, Heke is still remembered for 'chopping down the flagpole'.⁴⁰ It is this notable action that has developed the myth

³⁶ Diamond, 'Rere atu, rere mai'. Internet source, unpaginated. See

http://www.anu.edu.au/culture/activities/sixpack/ethno_papers/jo_diamond.htm Date accessed: 22/3/05

³⁷ Paul Moon, 'Hone Heke' in *Outlawed!*, p.45.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Moon, *Hone Heke*, 2001, p.163.

that is Heke, a myth that has traversed New Zealand history so that the action and the man have fused into one popular caricature.

However, this romantic mythologising of Heke pays scant regard to the enormous impact he has had on the colony's history; both political and constitutional. Furthermore, his representation might be denigrated because his pictorial representations and associated taonga are displayed as curiosities, and therefore identified as the 'Other'. Nonetheless, his appearance in the exhibition has contributed to the development of New Zealand, in the contexts of history and popular culture.

Institutional roles

Four museums, located on both sides of the Tasman Sea, played various key roles in the process of Diamond's consultancy.⁴¹ Early in February 2003, the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa opened an exhibition featuring Heke entitled *Conflict and reconciliation*. This exhibition was established as an indirect consequence of Diamond's research consultancy at the N.M.A. It featured taonga from the Pioneer Village Museum and the Rankin family's private collection.⁴² The exhibition at Te Papa Tongarewa was organised under the guidance of Kaihautu (Maori Director), Mr. Te Taru White.⁴³

The world renowned architect, painter, decorator, and prolific writer Le Corbusier wrote that 'There are good museums and bad. Then there are those with the good and bad together. But the museum is a sacred entity which debar

⁴¹ Diamond, *Revaluing raranga*, 2003, p.256.

⁴² Ibid, p.259.

judgement.’⁴⁴ In his essay ‘Other Icons: The Museums’, Le Corbusier boldly examines two common arguments regarding museums. One, ‘The museum reveals the full story, and it is therefore good: it allows one to choose, to accept or reject.’⁴⁵ Two, ‘The museum is bad because it does not tell the whole story. It misleads, it dissimulates, it deludes. It is a liar.’⁴⁶ By juxtaposing Heke with ‘outlaws’ from different cultures, periods and histories, Heke’s representation at the N.M.A is contestable.

Paul Moon’s essay in the *Outlawed!* exhibition catalogue is historically accurate and honourable to Heke’s legacy, however, it is likely that those who attended the exhibition predetermined their idea of Heke when put in the context of a line-up of international outlaws. Furthermore, the exhibition’s subheading, *Rebels, Revolutionaries and Bushrangers*, automatically redefines Heke’s character in New Zealand history. The title *Outlawed! Rebels, Revolutionaries and Bushrangers* automatically aligns Heke with other represented legends such as ‘Robin Hood’ or ‘Ked Kelly’. Because the marketing initiative of the exhibition portrayed all selected persona as romanticised legends, the constructed mythical status applied to Heke, the legend, somewhat diminished the reality of Heke, the man.

The efforts of Heke’s representatives and supporters, namely Jo Diamond, Paul Moon and David Rankin, to promote him as a great political thinker, military strategist, and contributor to New Zealand history competed with the Australian public’s unfamiliarity with the man and his actions. Heke, in the exhibition, was

⁴³ Ibid, p.259.

⁴⁴ Le Corbusier, ‘Other Icons: The Museums’ in Bettina Messias Carbonell (Ed) *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*, Malden, MA; Oxford; Carlton, Victoria, Blackwell Publishing, 2004, p.403.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p.404.

romanticised as an outlaw and his mythical status as a legend from in New Zealand's history was further developed.

Outlawed! was originally scheduled to be exhibited at the National Museum of Australia from the twenty-eighth of November 2003 to the twenty-sixth of April, 2004, Melbourne Museum from the twenty-eighth of May 2004 to the tenth of October 2004, and Queensland Museum from the twentieth of November 2004 to the third of April 2005. However, according to Senior Information Officer at the Queensland Museum, Gregory V. Czechura, 'Outlawed was cancelled before it was due to reach the QM [Queensland Museum].' No reason was provided for the exhibition's cancellation, although it is likely that the cancellation was the result of lack of interest from the Australian public.⁴⁷ The mis-management of the *Outlawed!* exhibition calls for the verification of primary obligations of the Queensland Museum and other such institutes.

The management of Heke in the *Conflict and reconciliation* and *Outlawed!* exhibitions reinforces Le Corbusier's argument that museums are both 'good'⁴⁸ and 'bad'.⁴⁹ Prior to coming to Australia Te Papa's *Conflict and reconciliation* exhibition successfully displayed Heke's taonga. The success of the exhibition reinforces Le Corbusier's belief that the museum is good;⁵⁰ it attempted to reveal a truth from New Zealand's history. The exhibition provided sincere facts about Heke's involvement with the Treaty of Waitangi, the New Zealand Wars of 1844 to 1846, and his attacks

⁴⁶ Ibid, p.405.

⁴⁷ Gregory V. Czechura, Senior Information Officer, Queensland Museum, personal correspondence, 24/10/05.

⁴⁸ Le Corbusier, p.404.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p.405.

⁵⁰ Ibid, p.404.

on the flagstaff on Maiki Hill. Subsequently, with consultation from the N.M.A., *Outlawed!* was to include Heke in exhibitions at the N.M.A., Melbourne Museum, and the Queensland Museum. However, the exhibition's failure at the Queensland Museum reinforces Le Corbusier's belief that 'the museum is bad'.⁵¹ The exhibition's cancellation failed to tell Heke's story and that of other legendary outlaws. It neglected to display persons considered to be national icons, and national taonga (treasures).

Not only is the *Outlawed!* exhibition the first exhibition to display a diverse selection of pictorial representations of Heke, it demonstrates and exemplifies New Zealand's changing art-style, and interest in social activity. In her PhD thesis entitled *Revaluing Raranga*, Diamond refers to her contribution to the *Outlawed!* exhibition as chief negotiator between the N.M.A. and the descendants of Heke:

Heke's representation in the N.M.A. exhibition depended on iwi representatives and a formal mandate from Ngapuhi kaumatua (male elder) and kuia (female elder). It also involves appropriate ceremonies (including karanga and karakia) if relationships are to remain on good terms between the N.M.A. and Ngapuhi kaumatua and kuia.⁵²

Negotiations between all three institutions (Pioneer Village, Auckland War Memorial Museum (A.W.M.M.) and Te Papa Tongarewa) then took place for the transfer of taonga to Australia for the *Outlawed!* exhibition, once *Conflict and reconciliation* had closed on the thirty-first of July, 2003.⁵³ The Te Papa exhibition gave added institutional credibility of recommendations to include representations of Heke in the *Outlawed!* exhibition. While the Te Papa Tongarewa exhibition differs

⁵¹ Ibid, p.405.

⁵² Diamond, *Revaluing raranga*, 2003, p.259.

⁵³ Ibid, p.259.

in scale and theme, being smaller and purpose-built for Heke alone, it confirms the multi-layered life story of this Ngapuhi tupuna.

As part of full consultation with the descendants of Heke it was necessary to become aware of the ceremony that should ideally accompany any public representation of him, but also other pertinent cultural information. According to Diamond:

Most vital to culturally sensitive representations of any Maori ancestors are a substantial knowledge of current socio-political issues and relevant cultural contexts. This means a necessary understanding of Maori culture that is connected with Heke's time as it is with Ngapuhi people of today. Knowledge of current views on Heke and related cultural politics needed to be gained, and I also needed to be mindful of and cautious with viewpoints that distort the past through a lens of the present.⁵⁴

Heke's presence in *Outlawed!* would therefore be jeopardised if his status, as a political leader, was misrepresented as a result of varying interpretations of his actions. Moreover, a forthright account of Heke's place in New Zealand history was necessary in order to avoid any confusion over his motives and subsequent actions.

In her 2002 presentation *Rere atu, rere mai: the Trans-Tasman negotiation of Hone Heke Pokai* at the Australian National University's Centre for Cross Cultural Studies, Diamond described Arthur David McCormick's *Heke fells the flagstaff at Kororareka* as 'Another kind of prevailing image... because of the flag and flagpole.'⁵⁵ McCormick's painting, the only painting depicting Heke's infamous (or famous) action at the *Outlawed!* exhibition, gives a violent insight into Heke's rage; it depicts his enthusiasm in destroying the symbol of colonial authority; and it

⁵⁴ Ibid, p.254.

⁵⁵ Diamond, 'Rere atu, rere mai'. Internet source, unpaginated. See http://www.anu.edu.au/culture/activities/sixpack/ethno_papers/jo_diamond.htm Date accessed: 22/3/05

demonstrates the hatred Heke and his followers had towards the British ensign. As stated in Chapter Two, flags ‘represent or identify the existence, presence, origin, authority possession, loyalty, glory, beliefs, objectives, and status of an entire nation.’⁵⁶ The painting, published in Reginald Horsley’s *New Zealand*⁵⁷ depicts Heke’s angst at the Union Jack and conveys the symbolic connotations of power and authority. Because Heke is most associated with cutting down the flagpole at Kororareka, the historical incident which the painting refers to is what is also known in published accounts as the ‘Flagstaff War’, of the 1840s.⁵⁸

Placing an emphasis on the significance of the contribution of women to Heke’s representation, Diamond acknowledges the contribution of women to Heke’s representation: ‘At least some of them are most likely the weavers of Heke’s finery and have anonymously woven their way into his various representations.’ By acknowledging these contributions, Diamond continues, ‘This inclusion would only do justice to a tupuna whose complex character and actions, inside one law and outside another, still hold currency to this very day.’⁵⁹ His ‘complex character and actions’ are comparable to many Maori activists such as Whina Cooper, Tame Iti, Joe Hawke, Pita Sharples to name a few, in New Zealand society who have fought for Maori rights and justice for the Crown’s past actions towards Maori. The continuation of the Maori power-struggle for tino rangatiratanga (chiefly authority) enables Heke to be compared such Maori activists, and demonstrates his influence in

⁵⁶ Bryson and McCartney. *Clashing Symbols*, 1994, p.8.

⁵⁷ Horsley, *New Zealand*, 1908, unpaginated. For further information, refer to Chapter Two.

⁵⁸ Diamond, ‘Rere atu, rere mai’. Internet source, unpaginated. See http://www.anu.edu.au/culture/activities/sixpack/ethno_papers/jo_diamond.htm Date accessed: 22/3/05

⁵⁹ Ibid.

contributing to New Zealand's bicultural status, and therefore New Zealand's national identity.

The standard theme for object display in the museum environment was applied to N.M.A. negotiations for the *Outlawed!* exhibition. These negotiations included an agency of Maori people who joined institutional responses to the exhibition plans, allowing for the occurrence of Maori traditions and authority in the exhibition. The input of Maori authorities for museum and gallery displays is a problematic concept that has the attention of scholars and academics, including the renowned anthropologist James Clifford who suggests that traditional Maori authorities are capable to direct and manage exhibitions and museum displays.⁶⁰ However, as Diamond cautions, the terms 'traditional' and 'authority' indicate levels of control over representation and are open for further critique.⁶¹ Although the role of Indigenous communities in museum and gallery is valuable and just, there remain ongoing power plays within those communities.⁶² These power plays affect the advancement of Indigenous control in museum and gallery settings, including, for example, Heke's presence at the N.M.A. and N.M.A. management.

Heke's continuing legacy in *Outlawed!*

Issues surrounding *Outlawed!* remain. Nevertheless, it is possible here to focus on one picture that was included in the exhibition in order to bring this discussion at least to a temporary close. The missionary Richard Davis of Kaikohe gave spiritual

⁶⁰ James Clifford, 'On collecting art and culture' in R. Ferguson, M. Gever, T. M. Trinh and C. West (Eds), *Out there: marginalisation and contemporary cultures*, Massachusetts and London, MIT Press, 1990, p.164, cited in Diamond, *Revaluing raranga*, 2003, p.267.

⁶¹ Diamond, *Revaluing raranga*, 2003, p.267.

support in the last months of Heke's life. Heke's people remained close to him. Towards the end people from near and far converged on Kaikohe. Shortly before he died of tuberculosis, in answer to his people's questions as to where he would recommend them to live after his death, Heke replied: 'In everlasting life.'⁶³ Alfred Sharpe's *Burial Place of Hone Heke, Bay of Islands* represents Heke's legacy. Portraying the place where Heke is said to have been buried, 'in a dense forest near Pakaraka', *Burial Place of Hone Heke, Bay of Islands* continues the myth-building process of Heke's legacy, and contributes New Zealand's nationalistic idea of Heke, the Maori warrior.

Although rumours suggested that Sharpe was a 'deaf mute', this was by reputation and not in actuality. He was engaged in Maori society, he could speak elementary te reo Maori (the Maori language), and studied New Zealand flora and fauna and was passionate about his subject matter.⁶⁴ I now extensively quote Sharpe's description of Heke's burial place in an attempt to illustrate the area where Heke's wairua (spirit) is most likely to be present. In a letter published in the *New Zealand Herald*, on the twenty-first of April, 1883, Sharpe described Heke's burial place:

the ground is dry, scoria-covered plateau, so dry and densely covered with an impenetrable canopy of heavy dense foliage of puripuri, turiri, and karaka, as to completely exclude the sunlight over the greater part of an area of about 35 acres, and entirely prevent any vegetation whatever over large areas under the trees; and that all undergrowth, which might have once been there, had been exterminated by cattle. The view was taken from the edge of a small opening, where a little sunlight flashed in on the ground and

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Rankin Kawharu, 'Heke Pokai, Hone Wiremu'. Internet source, unpaginated. See www.dnzb.govt.nz Date accessed: 31/3/04

⁶⁴ Roger Blackley, *The Art of Alfred Sharpe*, Auckland, David Bateman, 1992, p.3.

on the trees; and the effect of that sunlight, and the bare, stiff, clean trunked appearance of these trees, are faithfully reproduced.⁶⁵

The foxgloves in the foreground of the painting are, according to Roger Blackley, 'wild descendants of missionary flower-gardens. Sharpe saw that the alien species were irrevocably altering the New Zealand landscape, and created in his art a lament for the death of the 'original' New Zealand.'⁶⁶

Although the exact location of Heke's burial place is undisclosed to all except for his immediate family, Sharpe has represented Heke's burial location in a composition depicting lush, dense forest with an opening focused in the centre of the painting. The location portrayed in the Bay of Islands, although not a pictorial representation of Heke, represents his legacy and wairua (spirit), thus reinforcing his presence. When Heke died on the sixth of August 1850, there was disagreement as to where he should be buried. Ultimately he was buried in complete secrecy at an undisclosed location, later said to be at the Kaungarapa burial ground at Pakaraka, where he joined notable tribal leaders of the past. Of Heke's final resting place, Rankin Kawharu writes: 'So intense was the tapu that all clothing had first to be removed.'⁶⁷ The intensity of Heke's tapu is transferred through his pictorial representations, and the inclusion of Kaungarapa burial ground at Pakaraka ensures that Heke's importance nationally and internationally continues.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p.125.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 1992, p.68.

Chapter summary

Heke represented in the *Outlawed!* exhibition has come to represent not only Maori, but New Zealand, thereby emphasising New Zealand's bicultural status as a characteristic of New Zealand's national identity. His pictorial representations exemplify every timeframe accredited in this thesis, and have come to represent transition in New Zealand society. For instance, the comparison between George French Angas' *Honi Heke and Eruera Patuone* and Lester Hall's *Psst, Heke was a tattooed savage, pass it on...* demonstrates how Heke's image has changed, and how the artists' intent has changed from mid-nineteenth century New Zealand until the present time.

Heke's juxtaposition with the selection of international outlaws who are recognised in popular history is both problematic and useful for New Zealand's national identity. In terms of a national hero, he is one putatively.⁶⁸ Although the accuracy of the term 'outlaw', when applied to Heke, is questionable, he is arguably New Zealand's most notable example of a historic figure who opposed British governance. His unique story, and the circumstances from which he is recognised in New Zealand history, challenge the 'outlaw' selection process.

The management personnel have not differentiated between indigenous struggle against colonial rule (as with Heke, Musquito, and Walyer) or foreign governance (as with Salvatore Giuliano and Pancho Villa) and those who turned to crime, either by force or choice because they were essentially a product of their

⁶⁷ Rankin Kawharu, 'Heke Pokai, Hone Wiremu'. Internet source, unpaginated. See www.dnzb.govt.nz Date accessed: 31/3/04.

⁶⁸ Diamond, *Rere atu, rere mai*. Internet source, unpaginated. See http://www.anu.edu.au/culture/activities/sixpack/ethno_papers/jo_diamond.htm Date accessed: 22/3/05

social class (as with Robin Hood, Ned Kelly, Jesse James, Belle Starr and Phoolan Devi). The N.M.A. exhibition, therefore, feeds the ‘mythology’ of Heke with its curatorial premise. Heke represents New Zealand in a league of international ‘outlaws’ and provides the audience with two revolutionary incidents in New Zealand history: the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, and the felling of the flagstaff bearing the Union Jack at Kororareka. Mystery and mythology continues to surround Heke, however, as was shown in the discussion of Heke’s burial place at Kaungarapa burial ground at Pakaraka, an intriguing inclusion of the *Outlawed!* exhibition. This and other pictorial representations perpetuate Heke’s importance to nationalism within an international context.

Conclusion

Heke, his pictorial representations, and New Zealand's national identity

‘A nation is bound together not by the past, but by the *stories* of the past that we tell one another in the present.’¹

Ernest Renan

As I have argued throughout this thesis, images of Heke have contributed to New Zealand's history and therefore contributed to the construction of New Zealand's national identity. The nineteenth century French philosopher Ernest Renan said that the tangible relationship which exists between ‘history’ and ‘nation’ is linked by narrative. Heke's perpetual being is preserved by developing narratives of New Zealand's history and national identity. His pictorial representations reinforce stories of this legendary Maori leader.

Stories of significant people and events in New Zealand history, including Heke, have recently contributed to two television series. Episode four of TVNZ's *Frontier of Dreams*² recalled Heke's contribution to New Zealand's history, while in episode six of Prime Television's *History Makers*,³ a panel of writers, academics and celebrities described Heke as a ‘anti-colonist agitator’⁴ and ranked him number seven from 100 New Zealand history makers. Accompanying both programmes were illustrations of Heke: *Frontier of Dreams* included illustrations of Heke by Merrett

¹ Ernest Renan quote cited in King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, p.8.

² Channel One, *Frontier of Dreams*, Whakapapa productions, TVNZ, 7:30pm, 15/10/05.

³ Prime Television, *New Zealand History Makers*, A 2005 co-production: Prime TV/ Visionary TV/ Olonne Productions/ Inject Design/ Sunny Side Up, 7:30pm, 10/11/05.

⁴ Ibid.

and Gilfillan. McCormick's A reconstruction of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi featured in *Frontier of Dreams* and *History Makers*.

Heke defended the interests of Maori that, he believed, were threatened by the colonial government. His political stance created a delicate situation for those colonial artists who portrayed him, for they were associated with the institution which he despised: the British Crown. Diplomacy on the artists' behalf was necessary for protecting and resolving the relationship between Heke and British representatives. Regarding the Treaty, he considered the established contract between Maori and the British Crown to be dishonoured, and that government policies were injurious to Maori interests.

As emphasised throughout this dissertation, Heke saw the Union Jack as being symbolic of Maori subjugation, and defied its symbolic values by cutting it down. This famous (or infamous) action was portrayed by artists Arthur David McCormick, Dennis Knight Turner, and Christine Drummond. Although it is possible that Heke was acting opportunistically when he signed the Treaty, it was only later when his commercial interests were threatened that he started his protest campaign. Ultimately his protest actions were not aimed at the European community (whose presence he welcomed); his angst was directed at the British Crown.

Unwittingly or not, Heke's actions contributed to biculturalism in New Zealand. The complicated relationship that colonial artists had with Heke epitomises the complex relationship between Maori and Pakeha. Later artists, who did not meet him, fed a growing idea of Heke that never really fully matched the man in reality. The artists examined in this dissertation have explored elements of Heke's political

status that have impacted on both New Zealand's bicultural and national identity. Rankin Kawharu asserts: 'He resisted the government in battle and in letters, and by the time he retired to Kaikohe, his actions had made a powerful statement about his people's rights to self-determination.'⁵ Furthermore, the artists may not have been completely aware of Heke's agenda when he was alive; they were arguably attracted to his 'celebrity' status.

As this dissertation has demonstrated, the pictorial representations of Hone Heke Pokai are many, and span nearly 165 years. By collecting all available pictorial representations of Heke, dating from the Pioneering Period until the *Outlawed!* exhibition, this dissertation has documented the way in which changes in the representation of Heke reflect New Zealand's transforming national identity. The significance of the pictorial representations of Heke to New Zealand's identity are identified in colonial, late nineteenth and early twentieth century, modern, and post-1975 protest art. His relationship with European settlers, and his subsequent signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, assisted in the formation of New Zealand. However, by his actions at Kororareka, his involvement in cutting the British flagpole down three times and his involvement in the New Zealand Land Wars, he was a figurehead for those who would oppose the actions of the Crown, and remains such in contemporary New Zealand society.

⁵ Rankin Kawharu, 'Heke Pokai, Hone Wiremu'. Internet source, unpaginated. See www.dnzb.govt.nz Date accessed: 31/3/04.

Pictorial representations of Heke in early New Zealand society

Since R. A. Oliver's first portrait of Heke in 1840, there has been a national and international awareness of the Ngapuhi chief. This awareness has consequently contributed to the continuing effort by Maori and Pakeha alike to define New Zealand's identity. Between 1840 and 1845, with the events leading up to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and the cutting down of the flagpole at Kororareka, colonial artists recognised Heke to be a great leader. Whether or not the artists were in favour of his political actions, they identified him as being symbolic of a changing Maori society. Although ephemeral, owing to his ideology that Europeans would benefit Maori society, he eventually entered a bicultural partnership, thus creating the genesis of a national identity. When Heke realised that Maori would be disadvantaged by British presence, he attacked the medium symbolic of British occupation in New Zealand.

Interest in Heke diminished during the later half of the nineteenth century until his image was reproduced, for publication purposes by Julian Ashton. Towards the end of the nineteenth century commencing with Ashton, saw a group of artists who romantically portrayed him from original pictures and imagination. These artists revitalised an interest in Heke and, since the colonial artists of the Pioneering Period, claimed him as part of a bicultural New Zealand history (as opposed to a separate Maori history or European New Zealand history). The artists of this revival era, the Revival Period, consisted of both New Zealand citizens and tourists, and therefore the composition of Heke is defined from a national and international perspective.

Pictorial representations of Heke and modern New Zealand society

The revival of Heke in pictorial representation form towards the end of the nineteenth century until 1962 shows New Zealand as a changing nation, a nation in transition from a Eurocentric British colony, to a return to an independent nation with an emphasis on its original inhabitants. The artists were motivated to use the image of Heke in these pictures because he was a curiosity, a representative of New Zealand history and a political device. The use of Heke's image as a political device is best identified in Christine Drummond's 1981 Waitangi Day Protest March banner, in which the Ngapuhi chief is depicted cutting down the flagstaff. The trend of appropriating Heke's image for political commentary, first realised by Dennis Knight-Turner, became the norm from 1981. After Drummond, a series of artists took Heke as their subject, producing works that sought to comment on the state of the nation. This was especially true around 1990 with the sesquicentennial celebrations of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

This dissertation has proved that Heke's images reveal aspects of New Zealand history, society and politics, thereby conveying information essential to New Zealand national identity to New Zealanders. According to humanitarian and political activist Robert Consedine, 'Building an inclusive, unified and prosperous nation that honours its historical commitments requires a well informed public.'⁶ Because these images serve as a reminder of events that have consequently defined an important part of New Zealand's identity, they contribute to the development of the New Zealand public's historical, social and political conscience, and therefore

⁶ Robert Consedine and Joanna Consedine, *Healing our History: The challenge of the Treaty of Waitangi*, 2001, p.226.

contribute to the public's knowledge of New Zealand's bicultural foundations and obligations.

Heke's pictorial representations reveal aspects of New Zealand's history and contribute to New Zealand's identity as a nation formed on a bicultural partnership. Consedine warns, 'Until New Zealanders are educated about New Zealand's colonial history, the potential remains for increased social polarisation and disintegration of social relationships.'⁷ Heke's historic actions were intended to benefit Maori when it became apparent that the British Crown's intentions were unfavourable towards Maori. 165 years after the first painting of Heke, the symbolic qualities of his pictorial representations have developed an iconic status, representing political autonomy, power, and protest.

Representations of Heke and New Zealand's national identity

Heke's perpetual recognition in New Zealand is conveyed by within his pictorial representations. His recurring presence in New Zealand history narrative endorses the significance he maintains in New Zealand's national identity. By portraying Heke, the examined artists have documented the man who ultimately performed a significant role in the formation of New Zealand, and, consciously or otherwise, have assisted in the construction of New Zealand's national identity

By applying W. T. J. Mitchell's 'three basic questions'⁸ of representation to Heke's images, it is accepted that his values as a pro-Maori leader (whether by

⁷ Ibid, p.137.

⁸ Mitchell, *Picture Theory*, 1994, p.418. Refer to the introduction to this dissertation.

simply acknowledging him as a 'history maker' in narrative, or employing his image as a device for political and social commentary) reside outside his pictorial representation in the realms of New Zealand society. His story is repeatedly emphasised in narrative and accompanies such national occasions as Waitangi day. His images cement his legacy in New Zealand history, and, by no means, end his story. In this 'open ended' conclusion, Heke's pictorial representations, therefore, assist in national and international recognition of the Ngapuhi leader, and contribute to his perpetual status in narratives of New Zealand nationalism.



Figure 1. Joseph Jenner Merrett, *Hone Heke Pokai*, 1846, watercolour on paper.
Hocken Library Collection.

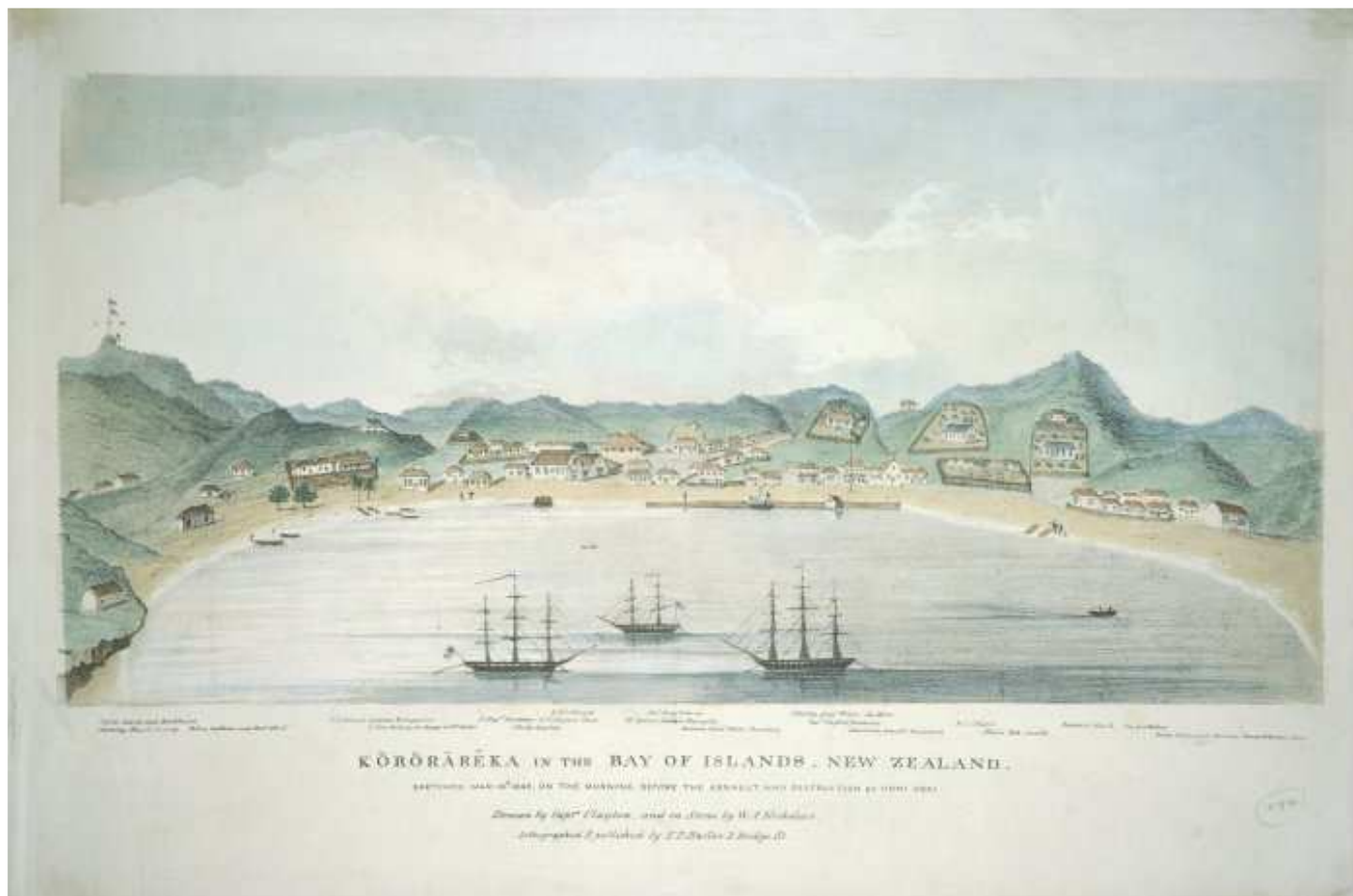


Figure 2. W. A. Thomas lithograph after George Thomas Clayton, *Kororareka in the Bay of Islands, New Zealand*.
Sketched Mar. 10th 1845 on the morning before the assault and destruction by Honi Heke, c.1845.
 Alexander Turnbull Library Collection.

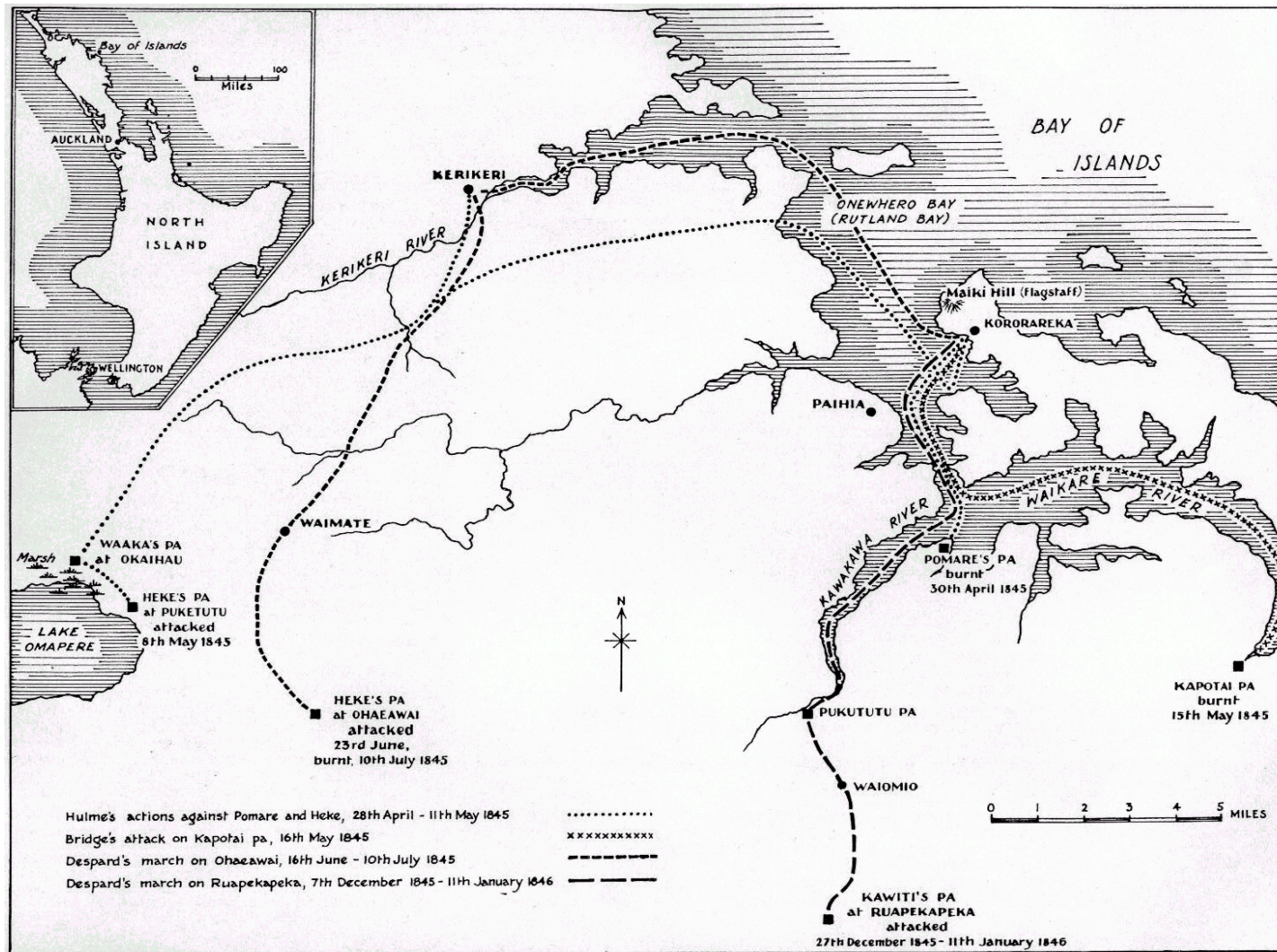


Figure 3. 'Operations around the Bay of Islands' in Michael Barthorp's *To Face the Daring Maoris: Soldiers impressions of the First Maori War 1845-47*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1979, unpaginated.



Figure 4. J. A. Gilfillan, *Hone Heke*, about 1846, collection unknown. Reproduced in James Cowan's *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period*, vol.1, 1922, p.15.

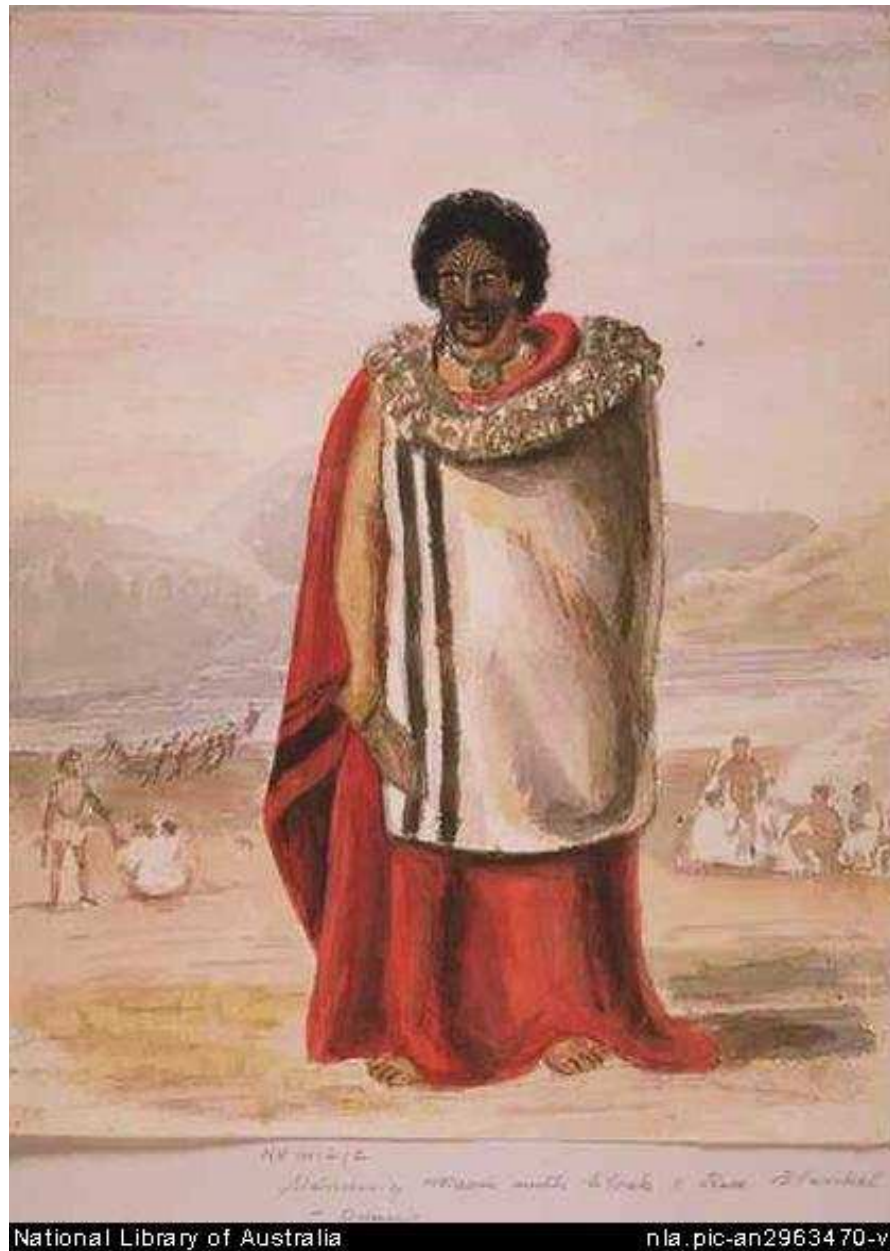


Figure 5. R. A. (Richard Aldworth) Oliver, *Honi, Bay of Islands*, 1840, 1840, watercolour. Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia.



Figure 6. Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Portrait of Omai*, 1775, oil on canvas.
Private collection.



Figure 7. Joseph Jenner Merrett, *Johny Heke & wife*, 1845, watercolour on paper.
Alexander Turnbull Library Collection.



Figure 8. Joseph Jenner Merrett, *The Warrior chieftains of New Zealand*, 1846, watercolour on paper. Alexander Turnbull Library Collection.



Figure 9. William Nicholas lithograph after Joesph Jenner Merrett, *The warrior chieftains of New Zealand*, 1846. Alexander Turnbull Library Collection.



Figure 10. William Nicholas, lithograph after Joseph Jenner Merrett, *The warrior chieftains of New Zealand* (original published version), 1846.
Hocken Library Collection.



Figure 11. Joseph Jenner Merrett, *Hone Heke and His Wife Hariata, with Four Attendants*, 1846, watercolour on paper. Alexander Turnbull Library Collection.



Figure 12. Joseph Jenner Merrett, *Group of Natives including Honi Heke, Hariata, and Kawiti*, c.1846, watercolour, Hocken Library Collection. Image reproduced from Augustus Hamilton's *Maori Art*, p.367.



Figure 13. James Barry, *The Rev. Thomas Kendall and the Maori Chiefs Hongi Hika and Waikato*, 1820, oil on canvas. Alexander Turnbull Library Collection.



Figure 14. Joseph Jenner Merrett, *Heki, The Commander in chief during the late war, he died of consumption in 1849, caused by a blow he received from his wife in a fit of jealousy*, 1850, watercolour on paper. Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia.

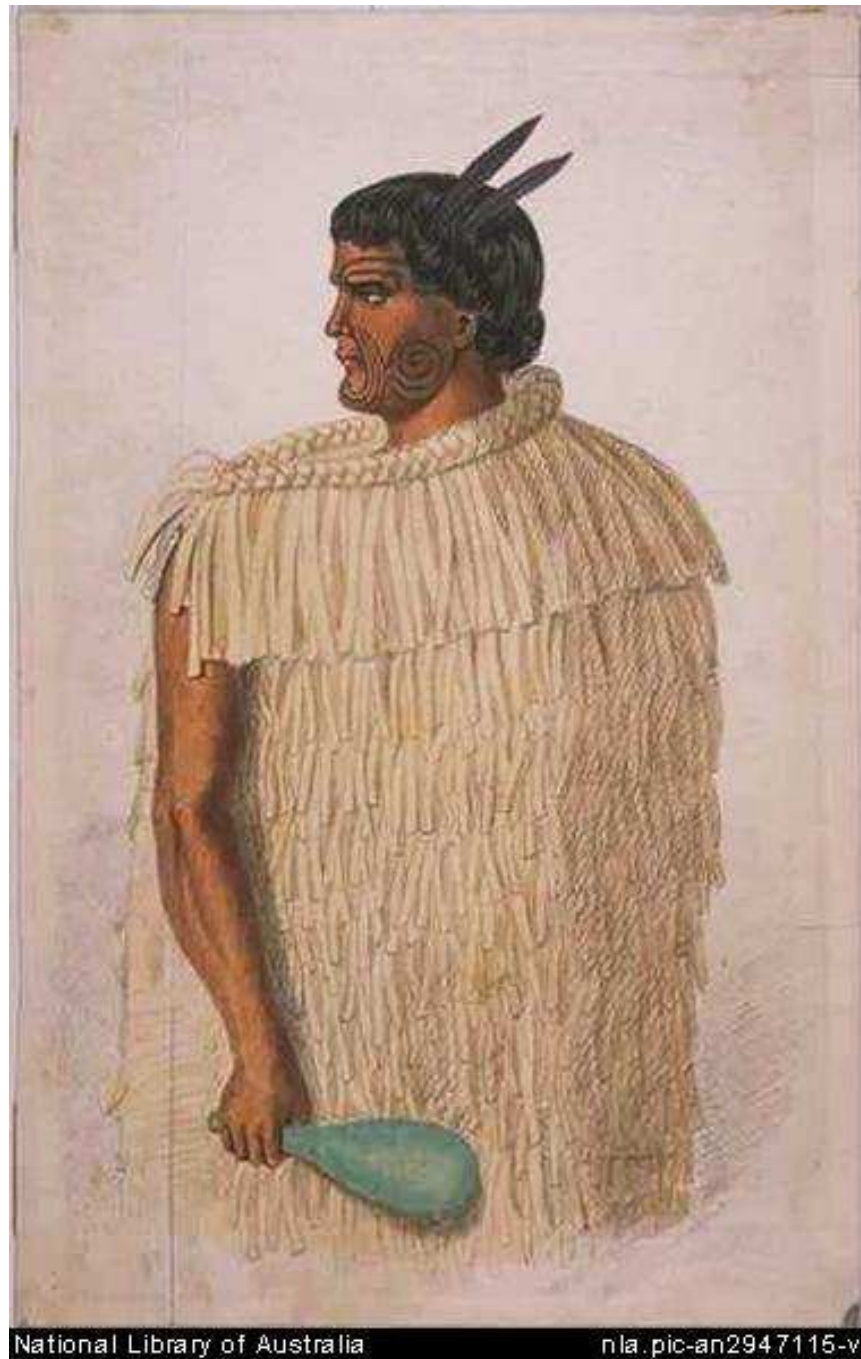


Figure 15. Unknown artist after Joseph Jenner Merrett, *Johnny Heki*, c.1856, watercolour on paper. Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia.



Figure 16. Unknown artist after Joseph Jenner Merrett, *Heke and his wife*, 1859, unknown collection. Reproduced in Arthur S. Thomson's *The story of New Zealand: past and present - savage and civilized*, Christchurch, Capper Press, vol. 2, 1974, p.96.



Figure 17. J. A. Gilfillan, images from his sketchbooks, undated, pencil on paper.
Hocken Library Collection.



Figure 18. John Alexander Gilfillan, *Honi Heke*, c.1846, pencil on paper. Alexander Turnbull Library Collection, National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa.



Figure 19. J. A. Gilfillan, *Hone Heke*, undated, pencil on paper. Collection unknown. Reproduced in A. Hamilton (Ed.), *Transactions and proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, volume 38, Wellington, John McKay, Government Printing Office, 1905, unpaginated.



Figure 20. William Duke, *The Celebrated New Zealand Chief Hone or John Heke*, 1846, oil on canvas. Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia.



Figure 21. William Duke, *Portrait of Makatu*, 1846, oil on canvas.
Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia.



Figure 22. W. Hawkins, after George French Angas, *Honi Heki and Eruera Patuone*, hand coloured-lithograph, *The New Zealanders Illustrated* (London, 1847) plate 1.



Figure 23. George French Angas, *Hone Heke*, 1847, ink or pencil. Auckland War Memorial Museum Collection. Reproduced in Jack Lee's *I have named it the Bay of Islands...*, Auckland, Hodder and Stoughton, 1983, unpaginated.



Figure 24. Julian Ashton, *Hone Heke*, c.1886, wood engraving.
Private collection. Reproduced in Andrew Garran (Ed.),
Picturesque Atlas of Australasia, vol. 3, 1886, p.33.



Figure 25. Julian Ashton, *Tamate Waka Nene*, c.1886, wood engraving.
Private collection. Reproduced in Andrew Garran (Ed.),
Picturesque Atlas of Australasia, vol. 3, 1886, p.37.



Figure 26. Elizabeth Mary Hocken, *Hone Heke*, c.1905, watercolour on paper.
 Hocken Library Collection, University of Otago.



Figure 27. Arthur David McCormick, *Heke fells the flagstaff at Kororareka*, c.1908, photolithograph. Alexander Turnbull Library Collection.



Figure 29. Charles Frederick Goldie and Louis John Steele, *The Arrival of the Maori in New Zealand*, 1898, oil on canvas. Auckland Art Gallery Collection.



Figure 28. Arthur David McCormick, *A boy's heroism "Awake! Awake!"*, about 1908, photolithograph. Alexander Turnbull Library Collection.

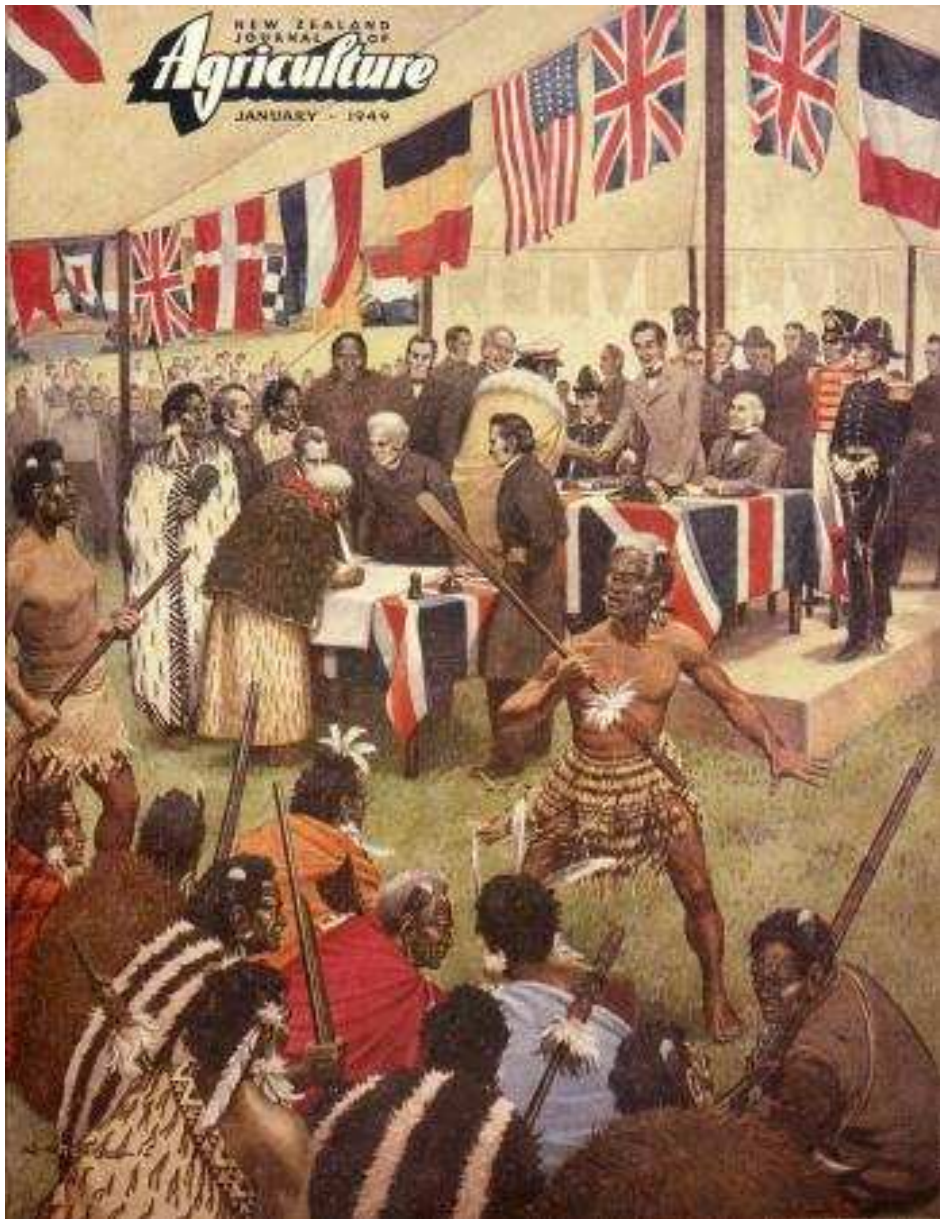


Figure 30. Leonard Cornwall Mitchell, *A reconstruction of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840, 1949*, photolithograph. Alexander Turnbull Library Collection.



Figure 31. Unknown artist, untitled (reconstruction of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi), 1940, watercolour on paper. Alexander Turnbull Library Collection.



Figure 32. Marcus King, *The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, Feb 6th, 1840*, 1939, photolithograph. Alexander Turnbull Collection.



Figure 33. Dennis Knight Turner, *Hone Heke*, 1962, watercolour, pen and ink on paper. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Collection.

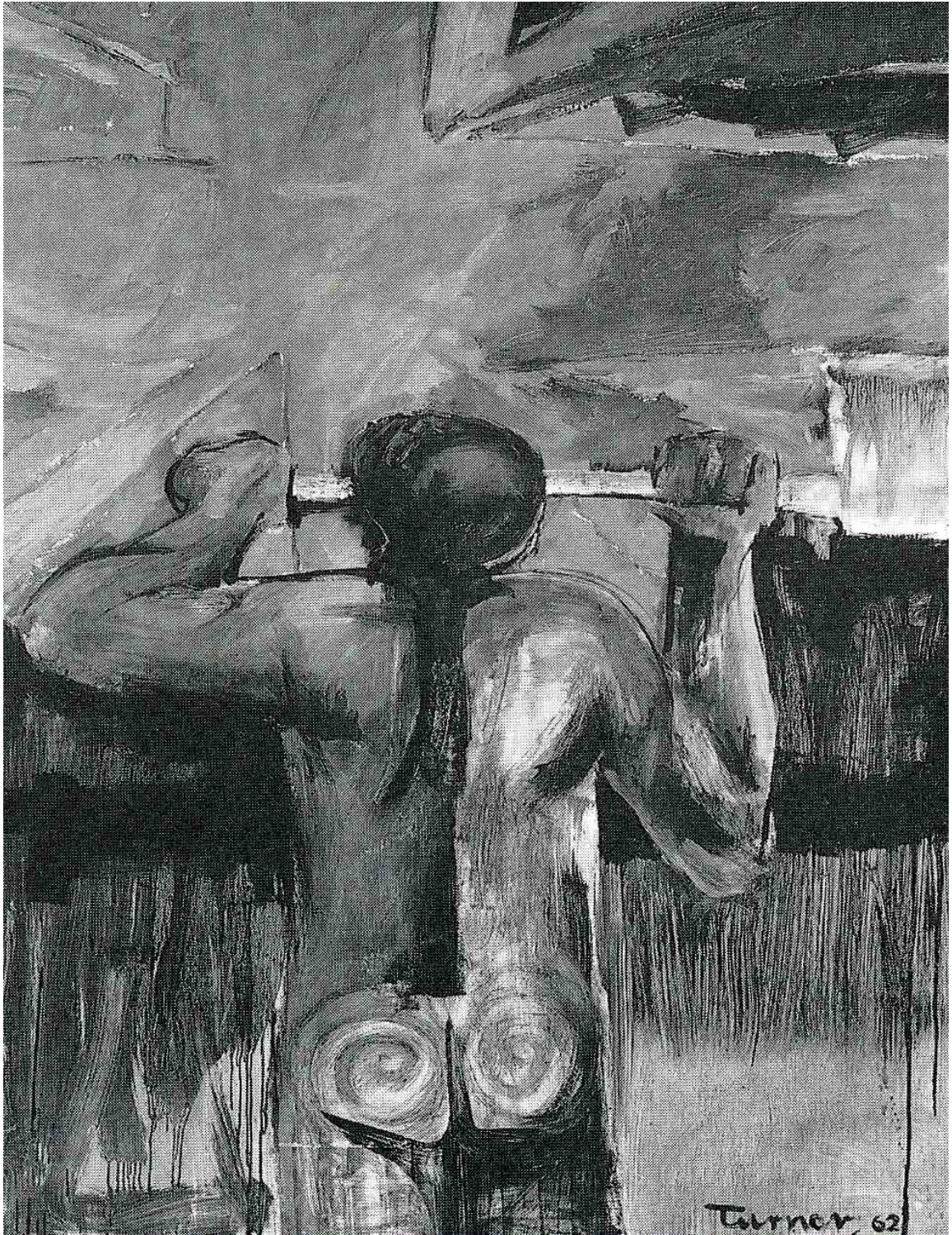


Figure 34. Dennis Knight Turner, *Hone Heke 6*, 1962, acrylic on canvas.
Private collection. Reproduced in Rob Taylor, 'Dennis Knight Turner'
in *Art New Zealand*, no.67, Winter 1993, p.58.

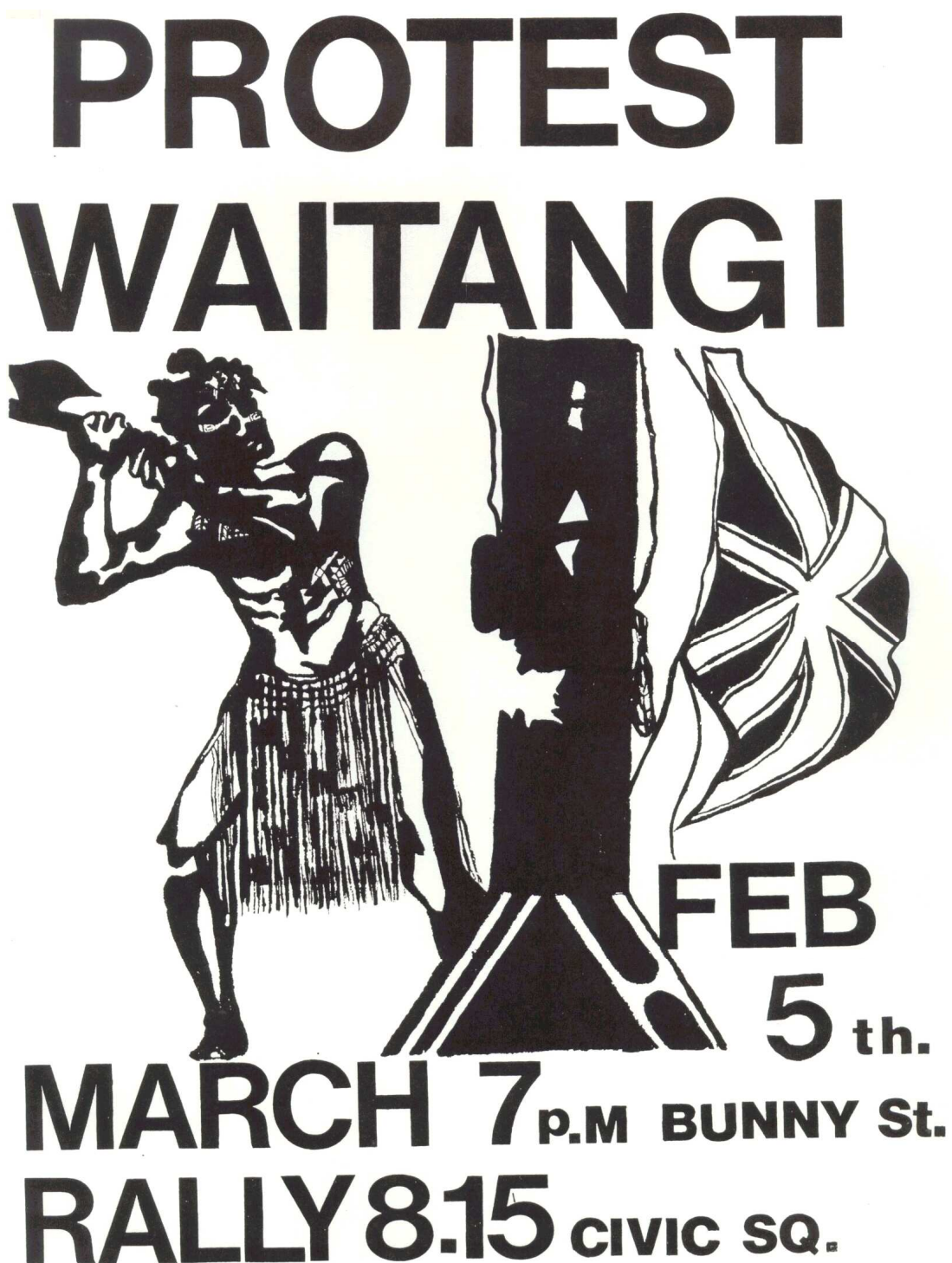


Figure 35. Christine Drummond, *Hone Heke Waitangi Day* protest poster, 1981, screen print on white poster, Alexander Turnbull Library Collection.



Figure 36. Philip Kelly, *Treaty Timeline*, 1990, mixed media. Private collection. Reproduced in Ramari Young (Ed.), *Mana Tiriti: the art of protest and partnership*, Wellington, Wellington City Art Gallery, 1991, p.51.



Figure 37. Philip Kelly, *Treaty Timeline* (detail), 1990, mixed media. Private collection. Reproduced in Ramari Young (Ed.), *Mana Tiriti: the art of protest and partnership*, Wellington, Wellington City Art Gallery, 1991, p.52.

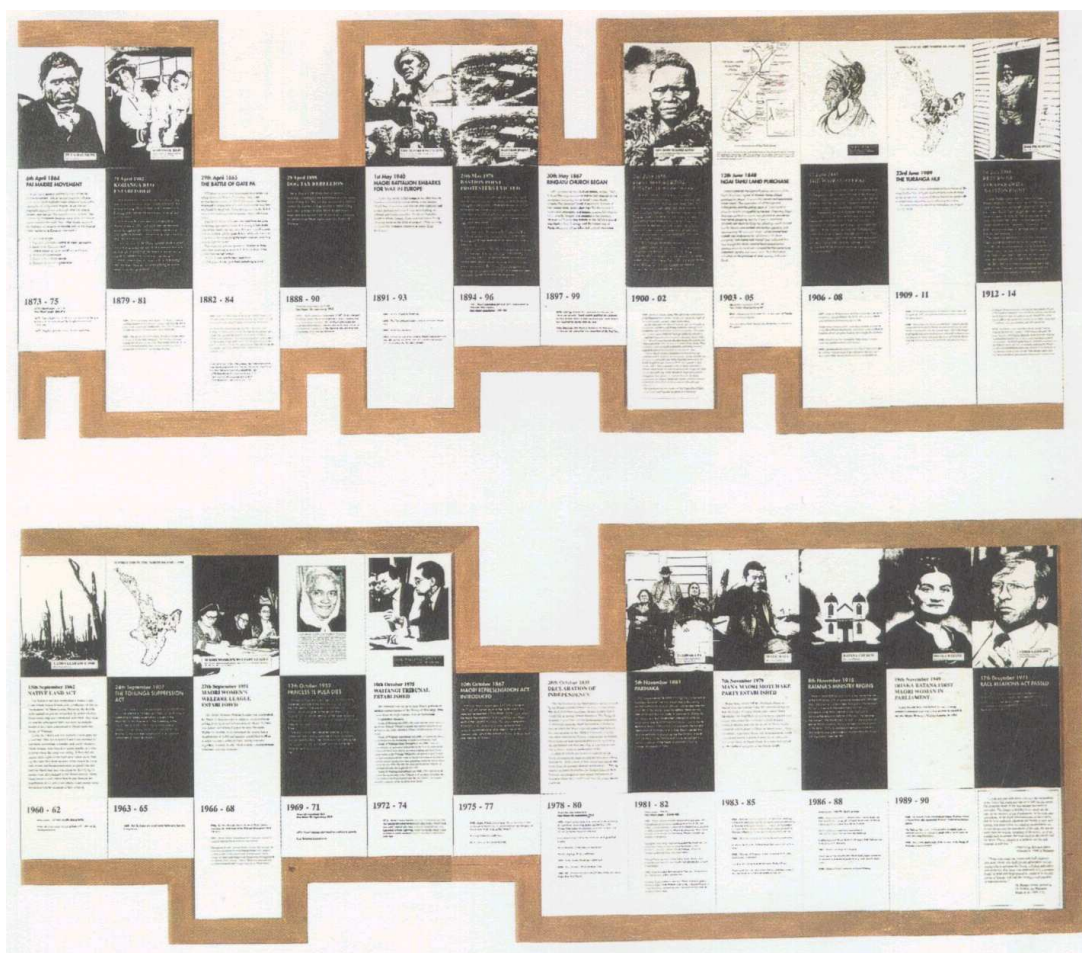


Figure 38. Philip Kelly, *Treaty Timeline* (detail), 1990, mixed media. Private collection. Reproduced in Ramari Young (Ed.), *Mana Tiriti: the art of protest and partnership*, Wellington, Wellington City Art Gallery, 1991, p.53.

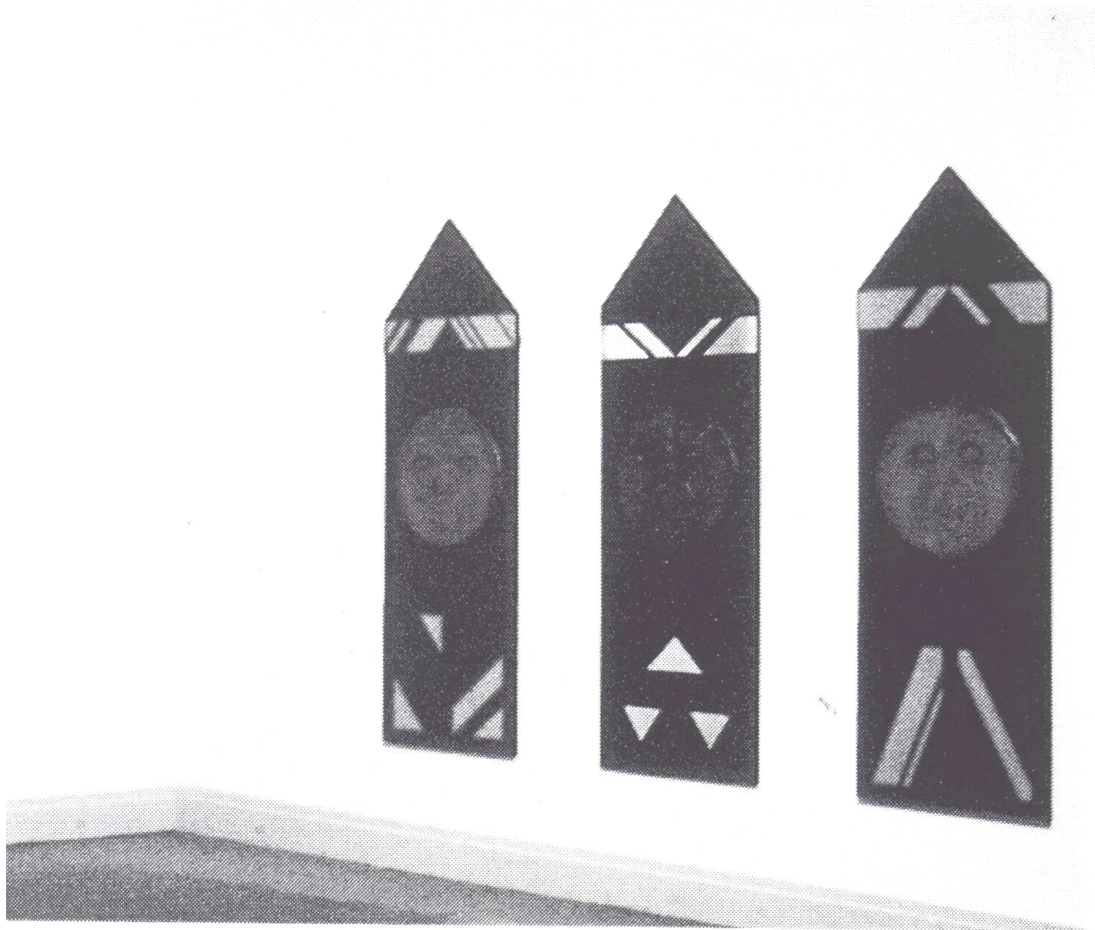


Figure 39. Clive Arlidge, *Heke Te Toa*, *Heke Te Toa 2*, and *Heke Te Toa 3*, 1990, mixed media. Private collection. Reproduced in Paratene Matchitt & Sandy Adsett, *Kohia Ko Taikaika Anake*, 1993, p.21.



Figure 40. Clive Arlidge, *Heke Meets Black Jack*, 1993, oil on canvas.
Private collection. Photograph courtesy of artist.

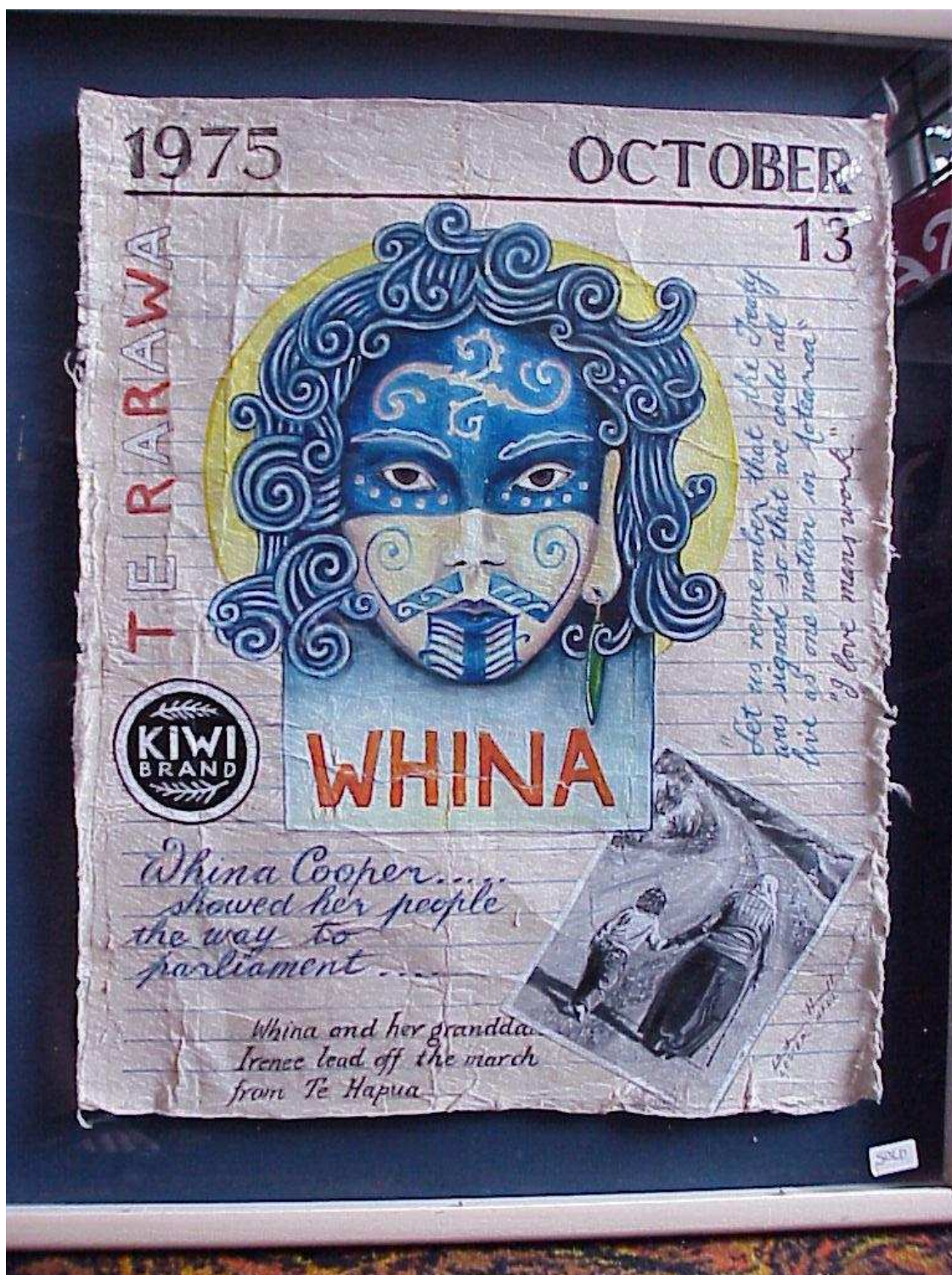


Figure 41. Lester Hall, *Dame Whine Cooper*, c.1998, oil on masi.
Private collection. Photograph courtesy of artist.



Figure 42. Lester Hall, *Psst... Hone Heke was a tattoo'd savage*, c.1998, oil on masi. Private collection. Photograph courtesy of artist.



Figure 43. Lester Hall, *Cockpit*, c.1998, oil on masi. Private collection.
Photograph courtesy of artist.

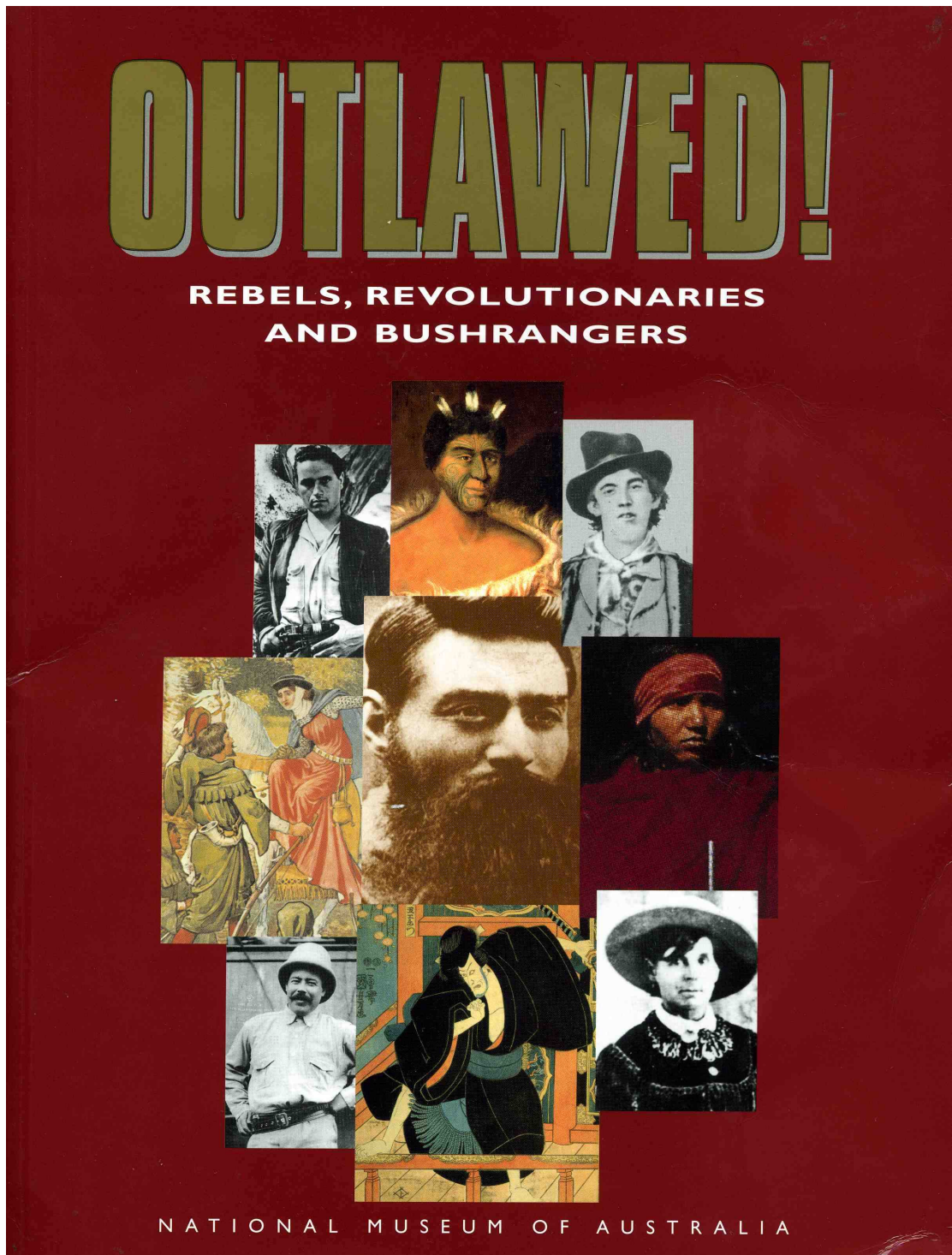


Figure 44. *Outlawed!* exhibition catalogue cover, 2003. Clockwise from top: Hone Heke Pokai, Billy the Kid, Phoolan Devi, Belle Starr, Ishikawa Goemon, Pancho Villa, Robin Hood, Salvatore Giuliano and Ned Kelly (centre).



Figure 45. Alfred Sharpe, *Burial Place of Hone Heke, Bay of Islands*, 1885, Watercolour. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Collection.

References

Books:

- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London; New York, Verso, 1991.
- Ashton, Julian. *Now came still evening on*. Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1941.
- Barthorp, Michael. *To Face the Daring Maoris: Soldiers' Impressions of the First Maori War 1845-47*. London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1979.
- Bell, Claudia. *Inventing New Zealand: Everyday Myths of Pakeha Identity*. Auckland, Penguin books, 1996.
- Bell, Leonard. *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori 1840 – 1914*. Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1992.
- Bell, Leonard. *The Maori in European Art: a survey of the representation of the Maori by European artists from the time of Captain Cook to the present day*. Wellington, Reed, 1980.
- Belich, James. *The New Zealand Wars*. Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1986.
- Blackley, Roger. *The Art of Alfred Sharpe*. Auckland, Auckland City Art Gallery in association with David Bateman, 1992.
- Blackley, Roger. *A Nation's Portraits: Art History lecture series 03*. Wellington, Art History, Victoria University of Wellington, 2005.
- Boime, Albert. *The Unveiling of National Icons: A Plea for National Iconoclasm in a National Era*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Brown, Gordon H. & Keith Hamish. *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting 1839-1980*. Auckland, William Collins Publishers Ltd, 1982.
- Bryson, Lucy and Clem McCartney. *Clashing Symbols: A Report on the use of Flags, Anthems and other National Symbols in Northern Ireland*. Belfast, The Institute of Irish Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast, 1994.

- Buick, T. Lindsay. *New Zealand's First War or The Rebellion of Hone Heke*. Wellington, W. A. G. Skinner, Government Printer, 1926.
- Buick, T. Lindsay. *The Treaty of Waitangi: How New Zealand became a British Colony*. Christchurch, Capper Press, 1976.
- Burrows, R. *Extracts from a diary kept by the Rev. R. Burrows during Heke's war in the north in 1845*. Auckland, 1886.
- Burton, O. E. *The Silent Division: New Zealand at the Front, 1914-1919*. Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1935, p.22. Cited in W. David McIntyre, 'Imperialism and Nationalism' in Geoffrey W. Rice (Ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Cardinal, Roger. 'Primitivism' in Jane Turner (Ed), *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 25, Macmillan Publishers, London, pp.582-585.
- Clifford, James. 'On collecting art and culture.' In R. Ferguson, M. Gever, T. M. Trinh and C. West (Eds.), *Out There: Marginalisation and Contemporary Cultures*. Massachusetts and London, MIT Press, 1990, pp.141-169. Cited in Jo Diamond. Revaluing raranga: weaving and women in Trans-Tasman Maori cultural discourses, a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Australian National University in November, 2003, p.40.
- Coates, Ian. 'Walyer' in Therese Weber (Ed.), *Outlawed! Rebels, Revolutionaries and Bushrangers*. Canberra, National Museum of Australia, 2003.
- Collins, Roger. *Charles Meryon: A Life*. Devizes, Garton, 1999.
- Colwell, Tania. 'Robin Hood' in Therese Weber, (Ed.), *Outlawed! Rebels, Revolutionaries and Bushrangers*. Canberra, National Museum of Australia, 2003.
- Consedine, Robert and Joanna Consedine. *Healing our history: the challenge of the Treaty of Waitangi*. Auckland, Penguin, 2001.
- Cowan, James. *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period*. Volume 1: 1845 – 64, Wellington, R. E. Owen, Government Printer, 1955.

- Duke, Jo. 'Ishikawa Goemon' in Therese Weber, (Ed.), *Outlawed! Rebels, Revolutionaries and Bushrangers*. Canberra, National Museum of Australia, 2003.
- Duke, Jo. 'Salvatore Giuliano' in Therese Weber, (Ed.), *Outlawed! Rebels, Revolutionaries and Bushrangers*. Canberra, National Museum of Australia, 2003.
- Durie, Mason. *Te Mana, Te Kawantanga: The Politics of Maori Self-Determination*. Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1998.
- During, Simon. 'Postmodernism or Postcolonialism?' in *Landfall*, 1985. Cited in Augie Fleras and Paul Spoonley, *Recalling Aotearoa: Indigenous Politics and Ethnic Relations in New Zealand*. Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Dysart, Dinah. *Julian Ashton: essay on the artist*. Canberra, Australian National Gallery, 1981.
- Entwisle, Rosemary (Ed.). *Mrs Hocken requests...: Women's contribution to the Hocken Collection*. 18 September - 17 November 1993, Dunedin, Hocken Library, University of Otago, 1993.
- Facer, Annette. 'Mrs Hocken Requests...Elizabeth Hocken's contribution to the Hocken Library' in Rosemary Entwisle (Ed), *Mrs Hocken Requests... Women's Contribution to the Hocken Collection*. Dunedin, Hocken Library, 1993.
- Fleras, Augie and Paul Spoonley *Recalling Aotearoa: Indigenous Politics and Ethnic Relations in New Zealand*. Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Flower, Cedric. *The Antipodes Observed: Prints and Print Makers of Australia 1788 – 1850*. Melbourne, The Macmillan Company of Australia, 1975.
- Foster, Stephen. 'Phoolan Devi' in Therese Weber, (Ed.), *Outlawed! Rebels, Revolutionaries and Bushrangers*. Canberra, National Museum of Australia, 2003.
- Garran, Andrew (Ed.). *New Zealand: the First Hundred Years*, (facsimile edition of the *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*) Auckland, Lansdowne Press, 1980.
- Garran, Andrew (Ed.). *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*, Sydney, The Picturesque Atlas Publishing Company, Limited, vol. 3, 1886.

- Gould, Ashley. 'Maori in the Boer War' in Ian McGibbon (Ed), *Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*. Auckland, Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Graham, Douglas. *Trick or Treaty?* Wellington, Institute of Policy Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, 1997.
- Green, Tony. 'Modernism and Modernisation' in Mary Barr (Ed), *Headland: Thinking Through New Zealand Art*, Sydney, Museum of Contemporary Art, 1992.
- Hamilton, Augustus. *Maori Art*. London, Holland Press, 1972.
- Hamilton, A. (Ed.). *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, vol. 38, Wellington, John McKay, Government Printing Office, 1905.
- Henderson, Carol. *A Blaze of Colour: Gordon Tovey, Artist Educator*. Christchurch, Hazard Press, 1998.
- Holly, Michael Ann. *Past Looking : Historical Imagination and the Rhetoric of the Image*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Horsley, Reginald. *New Zealand (Romance of Empire series)*, London, The Caxton Publishing Company, undated (about 1908).
- Hughes-d'Aeth, Tony. *Paper nation: The story of the Picturesque Atlas of Australasia 1886-1888*. Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2001.
- Hutchinson, John and Anthony D. Smith (Eds.). *Nationalism*. Oxford, New York, Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Kernot, Bernard. 'Maoriland Metaphors and the Model Pa' in John Mansfield Thomson, *Farewell Colonialism: The New Zealand International Exhibition. Christchurch, 1906-07*, Palmerston North, The Dunmore Press, 1998.
- Kerr, Joan (Ed.). *The Dictionary of Australian Artists: Painters, Sketchers, Photographers and Engravers to 1870*. Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1992.
- King, Michael. *Being Pakeha: An Encounter with New Zealand and the Maori Renaissance*. Auckland, London, Sydney Toronto, Hodder and Stoughton, 1988.
- King, Michael. *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, Auckland, The Penguin Group, 2003.

- Le Corbusier. 'Other Icons: The Museums' in Bettina Messias Carbonell (Ed), *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*. Malden, MA; Oxford; Carlton, Victoria, Blackwell Publishing, 2004.
- Lee, Jack. *'I have named it the Bay of Islands...'*. Auckland, Hodder and Stoughton, 1983.
- Matchitt, Paratene & Sandy Adsett. *Kohia Ko Taikaka Anake*. National Art Gallery December 1 1990 – March 17 1991, Wellington, The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Te Waka Toi, Nga Puna Waihangā, 1993.
- McCahey, Kate. *The Concise Dictionary of New Zealand Artists: Painters, Printmakers, Sculptors*. Wellington, Gilt Edge Publishing, 2000.
- McCulloch, Alan. *Encyclopedia of Australian Art: Volume One A – K*. Hawthorne, Victoria, Hutchinson of Australia, 1984.
- McIntyre, W. David. 'Imperialism and Nationalism' in Geoffrey W. Rice (Ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*. Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1992.
- McLintock, A. H. *National Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Art*, New Zealand, Department of Internal Affairs, 1940.
- Minson, Marian. *Encounter with Eden, New Zealand 1770 – 1870*. Wellington, National Library of New Zealand/ Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, 1990.
- Mitchell, W. J. T. *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Moon, Paul. 'Hone Heke' in Therese Weber, (Ed.), *Outlawed! Rebels, Revolutionaries and Bushrangers*. Canberra, National Museum of Australia, 2003.
- Moon, Paul. *Hone Heke : Nga Puhi Warrior*. Auckland, David Ling Publishers, 2001.
- Novitz, Rosemary. 'Women: Weaving an identity' in David Novitz and Bill Willmott (Eds), *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*. Wellington, GP Books, 1989.
- Orange, Claudia. *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Wellington, Bridget Williams Books Limited, 1987.

- Owens, Craig. *Beyond Recognition: Representation, Power, and Culture*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992.
- Panofsky, Erwin. *Meaning in the Visual Arts*. Middlesex, England, Penguin books, 1970.
- Pound, Francis. *The Space Between: Pakeha Use of Maori Motifs in Modernist New Zealand Art*. Auckland, Workshop Press, 1994.
- Power, W. Tyrone. *Sketches in New Zealand with pen and pencil: from a journal kept in that country from July 1846, to June 1848*. Christchurch, Kiwi Publishers, 2000.
- Reed, A. W. (Ed.) *Maori Scenes and Portraits*. Wellington, A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1979.
- Rendell-Short, Francesca. *Cook & Omai: The Cult of the South Seas*, Canberra, National Library of Australia, 2001.
- Rice, Geoffrey W. (Ed.). *The Oxford History of New Zealand*. Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Russell, Lynette (Ed.). *Colonial frontiers: Indigenous – European encounters in settler societies*. Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2001.
- Rutherford, James. *Hone Heke's Rebellion*. Auckland, Auckland University College, 1947.
- Ryan, Tim & Bill Parham. *The Colonial New Zealand Wars*. Wellington, Grantham House Publishing, 2002.
- Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York, Knopf: Distributed by Random House, 1993.
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.
- Said,Edward. 'Representing the Colonised: Anthropology's Interlocutors' in *Critical Inquiry*, vol.15, no.2, Winter 1989, p.226, cited in Leonard Bell, *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori 1840 – 1914*. Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1992, p.1.
- Scott, Peter. 'Introduction' in Marian Minson, *Encounters with Eden: New Zealand 1770 –1870*. Wellington, National Library of New Zealand/ Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, 1990.

- Seal, Graham. 'Introducing *Outlawed!*' in Therese Weber (Ed.), *Outlawed! Rebels, Revolutionaries and Bushrangers*. Canberra, National Museum of Australia, 2003.
- Seal Graham, 'The outlaws of the marsh' in Therese Weber (Ed.), *Outlawed! Rebels, Revolutionaries and Bushrangers*. Canberra, National Museum of Australia, 2003.
- Seal, Graham. *The Outlaw Legend: A Cultural Tradition in Britain, America and Australia*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Simmons, Laurence and Heather Worth (Eds.). *Derrida Downunder*. Palmerston North, Dunmore Press, 2001.
- Simpson, Tony. *Te Riri Pakeha: The White Man's Anger*. New Zealand, Alister Taylor, 1979.
- Smith, Whitney. *Flags through the Ages and Across the World*. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1975.
- Snoddy, Theo. *Dictionary of Irish Artists: 20th Century*. Dublin, Wolfhound Press, Ltd, 1996.
- Stewart, Pamela J. & Andrew Strathern (Eds.). *Landscape, Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*. London, Pluto, 2003.
- Thomson, Arthur S. *The Story of New Zealand: Past and Present - Savage and Civilized*, vol. 2, Christchurch, Capper Press, 1974.
- Thompson, Hamish. *PASTE UP: A Century of New Zealand Poster Art*. Auckland, Random House New Zealand, 2003.
- van Reyk, Cinnamon 'Pancho Villa' in Therese Weber, (Ed.), *Outlawed! Rebels, Revolutionaries and Bushrangers*. Canberra, National Museum of Australia, 2003.
- Walker, Ranginui J., 'Maori People since 1950', cited in Geoffrey W. Rice, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*. Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1992, p.513.
- Wartofsky, Marx W. 'Picturing and Representing' in Calvin F. Nodine and Dennis F. Fisher (Eds.), *Perception and Pictorial Representation*. New York, Praeger Publishers, 1979.
- Weber, Therese (Ed.). *Outlawed! Rebels, Revolutionaries and Bushrangers*. Canberra, National Museum of Australia, 2003.
- Wedde, Ian & Gregory Burke *NOW SEE HEAR: Art, Language and Translation*. Wellington, Victoria University Press, 1990.

- Willats, John. *Art and Representation: New Principles in the Analysis of pictures*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Young, Ramari. *Mana Tiriti: the Art of Protest and Partnership*. Wellington, Wellington City Art Gallery, 1991.
- Young, Robert J. C. *Post-colonialism: a very short introduction*. Oxford; New York, Oxford University Press, 2003.

Journals.

- Barrowman, Fergus (Ed). *Sport*. Wellington, Literature Committee of the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council of New Zealand, no.5, Spring 1990, unpaginated.
- Barrowman, Fergus (Ed). *Sport*. Wellington, Literature Committee of the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council of New Zealand, no.6, Autumn 1991, unpaginated.
- Bell, Leonard. 'Colonial Fortunes: The New Zealand Paintings of Commander R. A. Oliver' in *Art New Zealand*, no.30, Autumn, 1984, pp.48-51.
- Blackley, Roger. 'The Portraits of Joseph Jenner Merrett' in *Art New Zealand*, no.56, Spring 1990, pp.82-85, 111.
- Fox, Derek T. (Ed). 'Te Aitanga comes to Waitangi' in *Mana: The Maori News Magazine for all New Zealanders*, November/December 1993, pp.24-27.
- Kawiti, Tawai. 'Heke's War in the Northland' in *Te Ao Hou*, October 1956, v.4, no.16, pp.38-43.
- Merrett. J. J. 'An Account of a Visit to the New Zealand Chiefs, Heki and Kawiti', in *Simmonds Colonial Magazine*, v.9, September-December 1846, pp. cited in Leonard Bell, *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori 1840 – 1914*. Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1992.
- Owen, R. E (Ed). *The New Zealand Journal of Agriculture*, Christchurch, Communications Associates, January 1940, unpaginated.
- Taylor, Rob. 'Dennis Knight Turner' in *Art New Zealand*, no.67, Winter 1993, pp.58-62.
- Wolkomir, Richard. 'Near and far, we're waving the banner for flags' in *Smithsonian*, v.28, no.3, June 1993, pp.70-81.

Theses, Periodicals and Unpublished Materials:

‘Decorative artworks bring past to life’ in *The Dominion*, Tuesday April 27 1993.

Test strip flyer. Floor 1, 454 Karangahape Road, Auckland, Wednesday 29 March – Saturday April 8, 1995.

Diamond, Jo. Revaluing raranga: weaving and women in Trans-Tasman Maori cultural discourses, a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Australian National University in November, 2003.

New Work Studio. *The Thickness of White* flyer. Wellington, November 26 – December 24, 1993.

Video and television:

TVNZ. *Frontier of Dreams*, episode four, Channel One, Whakapapa productions, 7:30pm, 15/10/05

Prime Television. *New Zealand History Makers*, A 2005 co-production: Prime TV/ Visionary TV/ Olonne Productions/ Inject Design/ Sunny Side Up, 7:30pm, 10/11/05.

Dunedin College of Education. *Heke Te Toa: Clive Arlidge reflects with Graham Price*, Audio Visual Centre, Dunedin, Dunedin College of Education, 1995.

Internet Websites:

Alexander Turnbull Library: www.natlib.govt.nz Date accessed: 16/10/05.

Auckland Art Gallery: <http://collection.aucklandartgallery.govt.nz> Date accessed: 25/8/04.

Australian National University: www.anu.edu.au Date accessed: 22/3/05.

Australian Prints: www.australianprints.com Date accessed: 17/8/05.

Centre for World Indigenous Studies: www.cwis.org Date accessed: 12/9/05.

Dictionary of New Zealand Biography:	www.dnzb.govt.nz Dates accessed: 27/5/04, 13/9/05.
Hocken Library:	www.library.otago.ac.nz/libs/hocken/ Dates accessed: 7/4/04, 9/6/04.
Lester Hall artist:	www.lesterhall.com Date accessed: 20/8/04.
National Gallery of Australia:	www.nga.govt.au Date accessed: 12/9/05.
National Library of Australia:	www.nla.govt.au Date accessed: 19/10/05
National Museum of Australia:	www.nma.gov.au Date accessed: 19/10/05.
Tasmanian State Library:	www.statelibrary.tas.gov.au Date accessed: 19/10/05.
The Age:	www.theage.com.au Date accessed: 21/8/05.
Wikipedia:	www.wikipedia.org Dates accessed: 8/6/05, 27/8/05.
Whyte's of Dublin:	www.whytes.ie Date accessed: 19/10/05.

Personal Communication:

Arlidge, Clive.	Artist. Telephone interview: 15/10/04.
Austin, Dougal.	Curator, Mataranga Maori, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. Email correspondence: 26/5/04.
Brownlie, Barbara.	Ephemera Librarian / Assistant Curator, Drawings & Prints, Alexander Turnbull Library. Email correspondence: 3/9/04.
Button, Kate.	Image Library Manager, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. Email correspondence: 31/5/04.
Czechura, Gregory V.	Senior Information Officer, Inquiry Centre, Queensland Museum. Email correspondence: 24/10/05.
Drummond, Christine.	Artist. Email correspondences: 9/9/04, 1/10/04, 26/10/04.
Duke, Joanne.	Senior Curator, Australian Society and Culture, National Museum of Australia. Email correspondence: 27/10/04.

- Eckett, Jane. Whyte's of Dublin, International Auctioneers of Fine Art & Collectibles. Email correspondence: 25/8/04.
- Hall, Lester. Artist. Email correspondence: 5/9/04.
- Hunt, Penny. Assistant Curator (Pictorial Collections), Hocken Library, University of Otago: Email correspondence. 19/5/04.
- Minson, Marian. Curator, Drawings and Prints, Alexander Turnbull Library. Email correspondences: 16/6/05, 27/10/05.
- Stocker, Mark. Senior Lecturer in Art History, University of Otago. Email correspondence: 24/10/04.